Daily Report

East Europe

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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-142 *25 July 1994*

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Western States Condemn Serb Rejection of Plan

AU2107135594 Paris AFP in English 1353 GMT 21 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Bonn, July 21 (AFP)—Most of the western nations trying to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina condemned the Bosnian Serbs' apparent rejection of the latest peace plan Thursday [21 July], but none endorsed going ahead with their earlier threat to impose harsher sanctions if the Serbs failed to accept the scheme.

Germany, Britain, France, and the United States—which along with Russia sponsored the partition plan—all expressed disappointment that the Serbs Wednesday handed negotiators in Geneva a response which failed to give a clear yes or no.

But Russia, traditionally a Serbian ally, said it was withholding comment pending further analysis of the Bosnian Serbs' position.

However none of the so-called Contact Group called for the international community to make good their threat of two weeks ago to retaliate to any Serb rejection by imposing new sanctions, including lifting an arms embargo on all sides in the war, which has penalized the Bosnian Moslems most.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel urged the Serbs to "think very seriously" about the consequences of continuing to reject the plan, which would give 49 percent of Bosnian territory to the Serbs, who now control 70 percent, and 51 percent to the new Croat-Moslem federation. "Foreign ministers of the Contact Group will meet again in Geneva on July 30, if by then the Bosnian Serbs' attitude has not changed, their response will have to be considered as a "no," with all the consequences that that entails," he said in a statement. Kinkel, whose country is current president of the 12-nation European Union, said "The Serb side should think very seriously about whether they want to frivolously spoil this chance for peace." [passage omitted]

France called the Serb rejection "unacceptable." In Paris, foreign ministry spokeswoman Catherine Colonna said it was to be hoped "the efforts of everyone will make the extremists see reason." But lifting the UN-imposed arms embargo was a "last resort," she said, and there was a "contradiction" between doing this and the presence of French peacekeeping troops in Bosnia. [passage omitted]

In London, the British Foreign Office said it was up to the five Contact Group members to "assess" the latest developments and make recommendations to their respective foreign ministries.

However in Moscow Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mikhail Demurin told a news conference "a final decision on the positions taken by the parties to the conflict will be submitted to foreign ministers of the contact group at the end of July, who will issue a verdict." He said, "Our understanding is that the analysis of the parties' positions will be pursued not only within the framework of the contact group but also in other ways."

Meanwhile in Ankara, Turkish Foreign Ministry spokesman Ferhat Ataman called the Serb move "harmful to the future of the Balkans," and said: "We are asking the United Nations to use all methods, even the use of force, to convince the Serbs."

UN Official on Meeting Mostar 'Basic Needs'

AU2107152394 Paris AFP in English 1504 GMT 21 Jul 94

[Text] Bonn, July 21 (AFP)—Hans Koschnik, who takes over this weekend as the European Union's administrator for the Bosnian town of Mostar, said Thursday he has set a deadline of six months to try and meet the town's basic needs. "The most urgent need is to manage, as quickly as possible, to reestablish the town's water and electricity needs," Koschnick told reporters during a press conference.

He said priority would then be given to rebuilding schools and hospitals before winter and assisting the elderly. Koschnik added that the European Union has budgeted 50 million dollars to help the town in the next six months. He said he expects to bring under control the town's "main problems" within 18 months and hopes to lay the groundwork for Moslems and Croats to live together in harmony.

The foreign ministers of France, Germany and Greece as well as Bosnian and Croat officials were expected in Mostar Saturday for official ceremonies marking the city's placement under EU administration for two years, as agreed to earlier this month in Geneva. Mostar, which is close to the Croatian border, is divided between Croats and Moslems who fought pitched battles for control of the town over several months.

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Berisha Says Bosnian Serb Refusal 'Real Threat'

AU2207201694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] The president of the republic's spokesman reports that President Berisha declared: The refusal of the Bosnian Serbs to approve the contact group's peace plan is a real threat for the whole region, it is a condemnable attitude that clearly testifies to the Serb determination to continue an aggressive and destabilizing policy in the region.

We hope that the international community, the European Union, the United States, and Russia will utilize all necessary measures to prevent and put an end to these dangerous Serb ambitions and aims.

Appeals Court Approves New Anti-Communist Party

AU2207180094 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 15 Jul 94 p 3

[Text] Another political party has been added to the spectrum of Albanian parties, approved this time again by the Court of Appeals. Just yesterday, this Court cancelled the decision by Justice Minister Kudret Cela, who had refused to legalize this party.

As stated in a communique issued by this party, the program of the advocators of social justice calls for eradicating communism in Albania, granting all legitimate rights to politically persecuted people, and returning property to its former owners. As this party's representatives affirm, its program was the main reason this party was not recognized for 10 months.

Socialist Party Comments on Democracy Process

AU2507061094 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Jul 94 p 1

[Announcement issued by the Socialist Party Press and Information Office; place and date not given: "Meeting at Socialist Party's Headquarters"]

[Text] Yesterday Dr. Servet Pellumbi, deputy secretary of the Socialist Party [PS], and Bashkim Zeneli, PS' secretary for foreign relations, both deputies of the People's Assembly, received Mr. Peter Dickinson, representative of the U.S. International Republican Institute, at the latter's request.

After assessing the U.S. International Republican Institute's activities in helping to institute democracy in many spheres of Albanian political and parliamentary life, and its fruitful assistance particularly in terms of spreading democratic culture, Dr. Servet Pellumbi stated: "We are delighted that official U.S. interest in the Socialist Party has grown recently. We are open to cooperation and we have appreciated the help that the United States has provided and is still providing to Albania in this difficult transition period."

Speaking about the political situation in Albania, Servet Pellumi stressed: "We are not at all the nihilists we are accused of being. There are positive changes in Albania in many aspects, and one cannot compare achievements with those of the past. Many laws of democratic content, like the one on fundamental human rights and freedoms etc., have been passed. Naturally, every achievement in terms of consolidating democracy is a matter of joy to us, and we want everything to be done in accordance with well-known international standards. However, we cannot agree at all with the euphoria that surrounds our ruling policymakers. They tend to speak of success alone and in exaggerated sensational tones, even making comparisons with developed countries. Euphoria does not serve democracy. Production in Albania is still frozen, unemployment is extremely high. There is room for restructuring and reactivating parts of our industry, especially the food industry, etc. Investment, despite the propaganda, is negligible.

"The Socialist Party,"—S. Pellumbi said further—"has asked and is asking for negotiations with other political forces in our country, because it is in the interest of our national question. We are open to dialogue and cooperation with other political forces because it is in our country's interest. First of all, Albanians must find a common language with one another, and then the others will listen to us. We are not for haggling and rows among Albanians; we are in favor of national reconciliation. As far as our national question is concerned, we have emphasized the fact that we need a common language so that Europe knows what we want. Whenever we make an objection, we are immediately branded as anti- nationalists. The Albanian national question is not and must not be the monopoly of one party alone. Albania needs an advanced supranational strategy. The Socialist Party is by no means interested in straining the situation. We have always been and still are against the engineered political process against Fatos Nano. Fatos Nano's release from prison would be in the interest of democracy in Albania. This message arrives everyday from Europe, also."

Then, S. Pellumbi spoke of the need for a policy of goodneighborliness, for resolving problems through dialogue and not by accelerating measures that strain relations, as is happening with Greece. "There are problems," he said, "but they must be solved by showing good will. In this respect, we have criticized amateurish, nonprofessional steps and impulsiveness witnessed in our official policy."

Responding to Mr. Dickinson's interest regarding the long-awaited submission of a constitution to the parliament, Servet Pellumbi said: "We would like to believe our president when he says that the constitution will get to the parliament as soon as possible. We have been looking for it for a long time. It is unforgivable that Albania is still without a constitution."

Mr. Dickinson was interested to know how the recent party conferences in the districts were coming along.

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"Those conferences," said Servet Pellumbi, "have been really useful, successful, democratic, clearly manifesting our party's growth. Many young people have been elected in our leading party bodies, in the districts. In none of them have former cadres of the PC [Party of Labor] been elected, as some PD [Democratic Party] leaders are saying. Youth is everywhere predominant."

Mr. Dickinson asked his interlocutors if he could meet the PS parliamentary group, a request that was accepted without the slightest hesitation.

[Signed] The Socialist Party Press and Information Office.

Foundation, Goals of Anticommunist League

AU2507060694 Tirana LIRIA in Albanian 20 Jul 94 p 1

[Declaration by the "Anticommunist League of Albania on 13 July; place not given]

[Text] Prompted by lofty and noble national motives, based on democratic, anticommunist and humane principles, we, representatives of the following political and social organizations:

1. National Front Party.

2. Legality Movement Party.

3. National Association of Former Political Prisoners and Detainees.

4. National Association of Political and Economic Persecuted, Former Kulaks.

After several meetings held in a constructive spirit and good understanding, today, 13 July 1994, agreed to declare:

1. The Albanian political and social anticommunist forces, should organize and discipline the political struggle in Albanian life on the basis of a right-wing partnership, designated "The Albanian Anticommunist League" as a continuation of the traditional leagues for national salvation, such as the League of Lezha and the League of Prisren.

2. The final goal of the "Albanian Anticommunist League" will be to secure a vital space for national survival, based on the sole alternative of "Ethnic Albania."

3. "The Albanian Anticommunist League" will wage an uncompromising struggle, removed from excesses, on the basis of cold Albanian logic, against communist and neocommunist symptoms, to restitute and guarantee the Albanian people the necessary space for social freedoms, and avoid the danger of the restoration of dictatorship and totalitarianism of any hue.

7. [sequential numbering as published] "The Albanian Anticommunist League" appeals for the creation of a joint commission that could coordinate the activities of these right-wing forces according to a joint and unique program and platform.

8. This declaration is regularly signed by the representatives of the abovementioned organizations.

4. [sequential numbering as published] "The Albanian Anticommunist League" will strive to return pride, dignity and property to the Albanian people and guarantee them a society of international standards.

5. "The Albanian Anticommunist League" will wage a principled but merciless struggle against corruption and the violation of human rights, aiming at building up a free democratic state steered along modern constitutional criteria.

6. "The Albanian Anticommunist League" remains a right-wing force, open to all other organizations who aspire to high national anticommunist and anti-neocommunist ideals.

Editorial note:

The representatives of the Right-Wing Democratic Party and of the Association "Ownership and Justice," walked out of the meeting, leaving the negotiation table, because they did not agree with the name given to our coalition.

Former Political Prisoners Issue Declaration

AU2507060594 Tirana LIRIA in Albanian 21 Jul 94 p 1

[Declaration issued by the National Council of Political Prisoners and Detainees Association, endorsed at its meeting in Tirana on 16 July]

[Text]

Declaration of the National Council

On 16 July 1994, the National Council of the Association of Former Political Prisoners and Detainees of Albania convened a meeting wherein the economic situation of the politically persecuted strata it represents was analyzed. The Council observed that this politically persecuted strata of the population still remains economically totally discriminated against, and despite government declarations promising to resolve its economic problems, everyday practice shows that approved laws have remained a mere formality, never translated into practice.

The repeated requests of our National Presidium to meet with the prime minister and the president of the Republic have been turned down. In this grave situation, the General Council of the Former Political Prisoners and Detainees Association resolved:

1. Not to accept bonds, unless parliamentary law is approved to guarantee their value in leks.

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2. As soon as the bonds are legalized by the parliament, their interest rate percentage should come into force.

3. The bonds that are still outside of the privatization process on 31 December 1996 should still have their interest rate compensated by the state in leks.

4. Indemnity to persons executed by the communist regime or killed in prison should be equal to a 25-year prison term, according to the value decided upon. Of this compensation, 200,000 leks should be delivered in cash, the rest in bonds.

5. Everyone eligible for compensation, due to imprisonment or internment, and turning 50, should receive the entire compensation in cash.

6. The property confiscated and houses burned by the communist regime, as certified by relevant legal property documents, must be compensated to their owners and their families who fought against this system.

7. Compensation must be granted to political detainees from 1954 onwards, because they have been treated by the communist system in an extremely biased manner.

8. Services enshrined in Article 12, such as schooling, employment, etc., and guaranteed by the status of former political prisoners and detainees, should be precisely defined and put into practice.

9. We demand that all the property of the Party of Labor [Communist Party], created by our people's blood, such as villas, rest houses, etc., be confiscated and our Association have its share in it.

10. The pension's second installment should be given to all those eligible for it and who have not received it yet.

The National Council set up a commission, delegating to it full authority for action.

The Commission will present the abovementioned declaration to the high state bodies, setting a deadline of 15 days from the date of presentation of this declaration, namely from 19 July 1994, to meet our demands.

In case these state bodies fail to discuss and approve our demands put forward in the declaration, the commission will be compelled to declare a nationwide hunger strike. From the moment the strike is declared, the commission will refuse any kind of negotiations with the government, which will be held responsible for all consequences stemming from the strike.

This declaration will be sent to foreign embassies accredited in the Republic of Albania, to the Helsinki committee, CSCE, Amnesty International, to sister associations in the former communist countries of the East, and to the international public.

It is not our weakness, but our dignity and our affirmation; not the spirit of destabilization, but our desire for the implementation of the democratic program and for the defense of genuine democracy, that urge us to resolutely fight and defend the rights of that strata, which for over half a century has sacrificed itself for the cause of real democracy.

[Signed] The National Council of Political Prisoners and Detainees of Albania.

Significance of PFP, U.S. Relations Viewed

AU2507060794 Tirana LAJMI I DITES in Albanian 19 Jul 94 p 1

[Editorial by Ilir Zhilla: "The United States and the Partnership for Peace"]

[Excerpt] Forty-five years ago, on 4 April 1949, the U.S. military establishment in Washington decided to introduce politics into the U.S. Army arsenal. This date marks the creation of NATO, the Northern Atlantic Organization, the most powerful, compact, and effective organization ever set up in the history of mankind. Time and this organization's 45-year long-running history indicate that when military establishments are guided along the lines of political laws, they have their share in successes achieved, and the world progresses without the sound of guns.

After the breakup of the Soviet Union and the unification of the two Germany's, among politicians, economists, and military officials, it was only the latter who declared themselves in favor of quick integration of the East into the West. About 50 years ago, the United States and NATO saved Europe from Communism. It appears that today also, in the 1990's, its salvation is still to come from the United States. This time Europe must be saved from Europe itself, or to be more precise, from 100-year old concepts that unfortunately are still extant among many political circles on the old continent. The war in Bosnia is mainly the work of the Serbs, but it is also part of the moral crisis with which European society is confronted.

One of the most important means by which the United States is to assist Europe is the Partnership for Peace program.

Western civilization (democracy), erected thanks to the toil of tens of thousands of generations of man, cannot be defended by the force of arms, but by spreading democracy throughout the world. In this respect, through the Partnership for Peace Program, the United States aims at embracing to its bosom many more peoples and countries than Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. More than 20 states have signed the Partnership since its inception.

The positive elements of the Partnership would consist of:

—Avoiding confrontation between Russia and NATO

—Avoiding confrontation between conservative and progressive circles in Russia.

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Through the Partnership for Peace program, the United States has also already avoided any opposition that might emerge within the Western Alliance against its own enlargement. Naturally, it would not be open opposition, however it would be real, perhaps as real as the opposition witnessed in Russia several months earlier. Let us remember in this respect the opposition witnessed among certain European political circles against boosting European Community membership from 12 to 16 members. As an effective organization, NATO has succeeded in finding an effective solution: the Partnership for Peace, through which it will help the reformation, integration, and later the admission of these countries' armies to its ranks. Through the Partnership for Peace, NATO is expanding its membership up to Asia.

President Berisha was among the first eastern politicans to have understood and supported the Partnership for Peace initiated by the United States. It was Albania that backed NATO earlier this year, on 28 February, the day of its first battle. Albania put its sky, its sea, its land and all its seaports and airports at NATO's disposal. Let the United States be confident that Albanians know how to fulfill their obligations toward their allies. They are proud of having placed themselves closely on NATO's side, at a difficult time. The fact that we helped NATO before it could help us is quite significant. The Partnership for Peace initiated by the United States and NATO is the best solution for a new political space. As far as Albania is concerned, the Partnership for Peace is the best solution in terms of its integration into Western structures after 50 years of Albanian diplomacy's absence in the European political mainstream. [passage omitted]

ATA's LAJMI I DITES Seen as 'Illegal'

AU2207110694 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 15 Jul 94 p 2

[Article by Nikolle Lesi: "ATA Trades Illegally With Its Newspaper LAJMI I DITES"]

[Text] The start of a new newspaper is an event, especially when it is an independent newspaper. It involves elements of free competition, competition which is now essentially growing, and which means success for one person and bankruptcy for another. Thus far, there is nothing wrong. However, when a news agency such as ATA publishes a newspaper, and, still worse, carries its own news, we are dealing either with professional dishonesty or illegal trade in news. Put bluntly, the newspaper LAJMI I DITES is illegal, because its sole function is to publish the news of ATA, news which is contracted to the editorial boards of other newspapers and to radio and television, or in others words has been bought by them. It is universal practice for news agencies to sell news, not to publish newspapers, but ATA operates in contravention of all ethical principles and legal regulations. I say ethical, because the competition involves a professional testing of the staffs of newspapers. In this case, the competition is not real, because ATA, which belongs to the state, issues a newspaper with the attractive name LAJMI I DITES [news of the day], which uses the work of ATA correspondents, who, as we said, are paid by the state to gather news that is sold to editorial boards and to the relevant institutions. Meanwhile, from the legal point of view, ATA is violating a contract it has made with the editorial boards of newspapers, which clearly and precisely defines the relations between ATA and the editorial boards that buy its news.

The primary and most important problem is the first one, while the second, although indissolubly linked with the first, concerns preferential treatment in the release of news. The news that ATA's newspaper carries is not given to all the contracted newspapers. This is dishonesty and theft at the same time. It has happened that a news item given to the editorial boards has appeared the day before in LAJMI I DITES. How can a newspaper publish something that has already been published once?! Fortunately, the print run of LAJMI I DITES is very small as a result of its small number of readers....

The third problem is that there is preferential treatment in the release of those few news items that remain. Newspapers that "paint the government black" are not given news that "spoils the image of democracy." These news items go into the archives. This is rather like in the days of the dictatorship: This news item is against socialism..." except that now they add "against democracy." Anybody who understands the profession of a journalist and information for the public simply calls a news item news. There is no other word. As a contractor, as ATA, you are obliged to give me all the news that I have paid for.

Nevertheless, let us listen to our colleagues:

Carlo Bollini, editor in chief of GAZETA SHQIPTARE: "This is the first case in the world that I know of, in which a news agency whose purpose is to supply newspapers and radio and television stations publishes the same news in its own newspaper. Let us take Italy, which I know well, as an example. The national news agency was born of a partnership among all the newspapers, but it would never publish a newspaper, because it would thereby compete with its customers. It is an utterly abnormal form of competition. We have protested about this to ATA, but have not received a clear answer."

Thoma Gellci, editor in chief of ZERI I POPULLIT: "ATA has made a contract with our newspaper. ATA's news bulletin is pruned in the most exemplary fashion. Besides this, ATA publishes a newspaper called LAJMI I DITES, in which it publishes the news it sells to us. Thus, it makes a contract with us, giving us exclusive rights, and then trades illegally. Nevertheless, ZERI I POPULLIT will soon have no more need of ATA."

PREC ZOGAJ, chairman of the Association of Professional Journalists: "This is the sole example in the world

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of a news agency publishing its own newspaper with the same news that it sells to others. This is abnormal."

Ylli Rakipi, chairman of the Journalists' League:

"It is in the nature of news agencies to sell news. They do not produce newspapers. It is not normal to put this news in your own newspaper. LAJMI I DITES would keep the important news to itself. We cannot imagine it would distribute it equally."

Mentor Nazarko, editor in chief of DITA INFORMACION: "The publication of such a newspaper constitutes a monopoly. This is not fair. We have no contract with ATA, because the view exists that the news provided by ATA is not up to the proper standards."

I think that readers will understand that ATA both sells news and, in publishing a newspaper, steals it.

In conclusion, as I say with some pain the word newspaper, the newspaper LAJMI I DITES is illegal in the way it is published and in the way that it steals news that others have paid for. If this situation continues, it is possible that all the editorial boards will abandon ATA, leaving it as a news agency for persons in power and not for the public information media.

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Bulgarian Premier on Partnership for Peace Program

LD2207213594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov has been visiting Slovakia since yesterday. His agenda so far is outlined in greater detail by Igor Skocek:

[Skocek] [Passage omitted] The main point of the Bulgarian prime minister's visit to Slovakia was the signing of an agreement on cooperation in education, culture, and science, and on support and mutual protection of investments. [passage omitted]

Apart from expanding mutual trade, Slovakia and Bulgaria are also seeking ways of jointly coordinating foreign policy and a joint approach in the framework of international institutions and organizations. In this connection, Lyuben Berov talked at today's news conference about Bulgaria's relations with Russia:

[Begin Berov recording, in Bulgarian with superimposed Slovak translation] Bulgaria was happy to hear that Russia had joined the Partnership for Peace program. It is not in our interests now, nor will it be in the future, that contradictions between West and East, specifically between the United States and Russia, be exacerbated. When I speak of Russia, I mean Yeltsin. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Democratic Forces Leader on Dissension in SDS

AU2107171994 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 11 Jul 94 p 14

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of Union of Democratic Forces, by Mikhaylova; place and date not given: "Elections in 1994 Are Much More Useful Than in 1995"]

[Excerpts] [Mikhaylova] Mr. Dimitrov, given that [Democratic Party leader] Stefan Savov said in one of his interviews that the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] National Assembly deputies have voted against the resolutions of the Sixth SDS National Conference, while the representatives of the SDS structures passed these resolutions by a large majority. Does this not mean that the parliamentary group is increasingly distancing itself from the aspirations of the SDS supporters?

[Dimitrov] This would be true if the majority of SDS deputies hold this view. I believe that such an impression is being created at the moment, but it is not true. This is due to the fact that five or six persons who oppose the conference resolutions constantly make statements in the media, while the remainder generally try not to react to their appearances so as not to create additional problems for the SDS. As you know, at the last National Coordinating Council meeting, I was obliged to give a commitment that when such statements, confessions, and the like appear in the newspapers or on radio or television, the council will adopt a view on them, and I myself will do the same, so as to make it clear to everyone what the position of the SDS really is. However, I reiterate, it cannot be claimed that the majority of the parliamentary group holds views opposing those of the conference.

[Mikhaylova] Is it possible that the disapproval expressed by certain leaders may provoke a demand for a new national conference?

[Dimitrov] I cannot give an answer to this question. National conferences are convened when a sufficiently large number of SDS formations sense the need for this. However, anyone is entitled to propose the holding of a conference. [passage omitted]

[Mikhaylova] The chairman of the SDS parliamentary group [Stefan Savov] has complained that the Sixth SDS National Conference failed to precisely define the parliamentary boycott. Does this not allow the leadership of the parliamentary group to decide its own tactics for conducting the boycott

[Dimitrov] I think that we should not hide behind the resolutions of the Sixth SDS National Conference. The point is to instill meaning into what we do. When the conference is not sitting, this is the job of the National Coordinating Council, while the parliamentary group determines tactics. There has been a lot of talk about these matters, but this is the position that has always existed in the SDS. The same people who now dispute this position pleaded in support of it two years ago. Both in 1991, when the National Coordinating Council, represented by me, was adopting the decisions on the basis of which the group of 39 defended their position, and later, following the attack on the National Assembly chairman and the SDS government, when the parliamentary group showed trends toward becoming an autonomous body, Savov was one of the people who supported the view that the parliamentary group must carry out the decisions of the National Coordinating Council. I do not think he should change his view now that he is chairman of the parliamentary group.

[Mikhaylova] On the basis of the analyses that the National Coordinating Council is constantly carrying out, can it be said that the SDS parliamentary group has functioned well in opposition and has it succeeded in stopping laws promoting recommunization? If so, which laws were stopped over the last 18 months?

[Dimitrov] Both assertions are exaggerations. The parliamentary group has not managed to stop any law. In the final analysis, it succeeded in delaying many things, but the end result was always that we lost. This is quite natural because we are the opposition. No one can expect the parliamentary group to do something that is arithmetically impossible. Accordingly, the claim that it has fought very effectively against recommunization is greatly exaggerated simply because it had to fight within the framework of its available and possible means. Similarly exaggerated is the claim that it has been

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ineffective and has not achieved anything. The parliamentary group has many blemishes, just like every SDS structure and every other political party. Criticisms can always be made. However, in the final account, within the context in which the parliamentary group operated in 1993, its behavior did make some sense. At the moment, the situation has been placed on a different plane. The issue now is whether we should pile on the pressure, throwing all the forces at our disposal into the battle, so as to increase the chances of holding elections in the autumn, or whether we should give up, throw in the towel, in which case the elections will take place in 1995. I believe that 1995 elections will be worse that elections in 1994, and the SDS agrees with me. I say the SDS, because the view of the Union of Democratic Forces is expressed by the SDS conference and the National Coordinating Council, and they hold one and the same opinion on this matter.

[Mikhaylova] To what extent, however, can the leaderships of SDS parties influence such a decision and postpone the elections if we accept the thesis that some of the parties are preparing to leave the coalition? For the parties in question, the 1995 elections are much more convenient.

[Dimitrov] I do not believe that anyone who decides to leave the SDS will prosper, and secondly, I do not think that any party will leave the SDS in its entirety.

[Mikhaylova] Nevertheless, the Democratic Party leadership issued a statement that it may leave the SDS coalition, hoping that it will be able to cross the 4-percent election barrier. Is a single party capable of waging a struggle on its own with the communist structures, and is there not a risk of a repetition of what happened to Dertliev and Drenchev's political organizations [reference to failure of Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and Drenchev's agrarian party to win any parliamentary seats in the last elections after leaving the SDS]?

[Dimitrov] I think there is a small chance of a repetition of the fate that befell Dertliev and Drenchev, because they did manage to win quite a number of votes. The chances for anyone who leaves the SDS now to win anything at all are negligible. This is my personal opinion, of course. I have always advocated maintaining civilized standards in relations, as I did in 1991. I even recall that, at the time, I was accused of being too polite. The SDS will remain the same as long as its formula is preserved. In any case, anyone who wants to go his own way outside the union is entitled to do so. I repeat, the SDS remains the SDS, and it is up to the person who leaves the SDS to seek his place in the sun by himself. I am the last person to permit vulgarities regarding those who decide to go their own way. I personally believe that they will not prosper, but history and the voters will prove whether I am right or not. [passage omitted]

[Mikhaylova] Is there no explanation as to why, when the SDS had a parliamentary majority and enjoyed the president's support, the deputies' personal files were not made public?

[Dimitrov] There is no explanation for many other things, but there is one in this case. The fact is that if we had opened the personal files at that time, we might have lost the support of Ahmed Dogan and his people [Rights and Freedoms Movement], since it is well known that this could cause them serious damage. What cannot be explained is why, after the SDS government submitted [former Interior Minister] Yordan Sokolov's bill amending the Interior Ministry Act in mid-December [1991], this bill failed to make any progress in the parliamentary commissions. Furthermore, I cannot find any explanation why when we talk about dirty money, illegal perquisites, and so on, no one explains why [former Justice Minister] Svetoslav Luchnikov's bill amending Chapter 3 of the Law on Citizens Property, which the Council of Ministers submitted around 20 December 1991, has not managed to get through the committee stage. You see, it is high time for us to cease deluding ourselves into thinking that we had the support of the entire parliamentary group. This is not true. It may be that many people tried to support the SDS cabinet as conscientiously as possible, but it is also true that from the very outset we took our places in parliament at the cost of a compromise. Due to a sense of inferiority, some of the SDS leaders who opposed Dertliev, Simeonov, and Karakachanov [leaders of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, Liberals Party, and Green Party, respectively] but nonetheless felt afraid and thought themselves too weak, felt constrained to enter into that special relationship with [Podkrepa leader] Konstantin Trenchev, whom they even declared to be the blue lamp of the SDS, and so forth. I understand their noble wish to guarantee the success of the SDS in this way, but this compromise reached with Konstantin Trenchev and the ASP [Alternative Social Liberal Party] led us into the situation that, as soon as we entered parliament, we had problems with the majority. This must be clear to everyone. I do not mean this as a reproach. I appreciate that anyone has the right to feel weak and to seek support, and I understand the way in which this entire affair developed so that concessions were made to Konstantin Trenchev. However, at the same time, we simply should not deceive ourselves into believing that the situation was very favorable at the very beginning. It is because of these people, who subsequently showed their horns, that the bills that I mentioned, let alone many other things, made no progress at all.

[Mikhaylova] It is said that certain of the present SDS deputies, such as Ventseslav Dimitrov, for example, will not be nominated again as parliamentary candidates. Is this true?

[Dimitrov] It is evident that when someone does not respond to the decisions of the Fifth and Sixth SDS

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National Conferences, he or she will not be included in the lists of SDS candidates. However, I would like to emphasize that serving as a parliamentary deputy is not the only way in which someone can work for the SDS. Ventseslav Dimitrov is a man who clearly has a good understanding of economics, taxation, and banking, and I would be very pleased if he found a way to behave more normally in order to make it possible for the SDS to rely on him in one or another form of activity.

Commentary Blames Conflicts on Party Interests

AU2207191894 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 19 Jul 94 p 3

[Commentary by Muravey Radev, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Democratic Forum: "Partisanship May Destroy Those Who Initiate It, Not the Union of Democratic Forces"]

[Text] The conflicts within the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] that were concealed until recently, but without much success, are now an indisputable fact. Recently, certain well-known and not so well-known SDS leaders and deputies have been doing everything possible in this direction. They continue to do this now, at a moment when local authority elections are in progress in many places and when preparations are being made for early parliamentary elections. We have conflicts based on personalities, group conflicts, and now, if you like, even conflicts between parties.

Is all this purely accidental? Is personal incompatibility the only reason, or is this perhaps yet another "active measure" to attack the SDS from within?

All this factors undoubtedly have an effect and contribute to exacerbating the differences. Unfortunately, however, they are hardly the only reason for the present state of the SDS. I suspect there is another primary reason, one that usually appears immediately prior to parliamentary elections. It is the same reason that led to a number of confirmed SDS leaders finding themselves outside parliament after the last elections. This reason is narrow party interest. Some people prefer to call it partisanship. Before the elections, it manifests itself in the desire to secure the greatest numbers of seats in parliament. Because within a coalition this can only be achieved at the expense of one's coalition partners, the only way to attain this goal is to capture control of the mechanisms by which the available deputies' seats are allocated. The posts in question are the prerogative of the SDS National Coordinating Council. Accordingly, a necessary precondition for achieving this goal is to take over the leadership of the National Coordinating Council. The present leadership of the National Coordinating Council, which has proved its intolerance toward party bias, is simply inconvenient. It has to be replaced by another that is ready to satisfy the partisan interests of one or more parties. This means that main task is to overthrow the present leadership of the National Coordinating Council.

On the basis of this hypothesis, many of the actions and phenomena that have occurred since December 1993 become easily explicable. Starting with the election of an SDS parliamentary group chairman in December, continuing with the attempts to convert the parliamentary group into a second SDS power center, with the insane and unworthy attacks and vilification of the chairman of the National Coordinating Council (Filip Dimitrov), and with persistently seeking to find blame where none exists, this process has culminated with the rejection of the decisions of the Sixth SDS National Conference and public statements about a forthcoming split in the SDS. These actions create the impression that the SDS coalition almost faces disintegration, and the fault for this lies with 134 Rakovski Street [SDS headquarters].

This is a dishonorable and unworthy position, and, moreover, one that is absolutely untrue and foolish. It constitutes yet another delusion on the part of those who believe this or want it to be so.

The Union of Democratic Forces exists and will continue to exist, because the SDS is a national idea, a national cause, not a party one, not even a coalition ideological scheme.

Can we put a stop to these intolerable disagreements and sharp contradictions? I think we can, and we must. How? By eliminating the primary cause—preelection partisanship. The National Coordinating Council must draft and adopt a transparent and fair system for selecting candidates for the parliamentary elections and for compiling and ordering the lists of candidates. It must be a system that satisfies the parties in the coalition and guarantees the election of capable and reliable individuals. If such a system is not to the liking of certain leaders or certain party leaderships, the choice is theirs, and the responsibility is theirs as well. If they have forgotten that it is dark and cold outside the SDS, let them ask those who have been outside for some time.

SDS Leader Says Dogan Serves Communists

AU2307163694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Report by Georgi Angelov]

[Text] Today Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], visited Yambol and met with the mayor of Yambol, Engineer Stoyan Stoyanov, to discuss the municipality's problems, especially in the spheres of health care, culture, and division of farmland.

In connection with the preliminary investigation that the Chief Prosecutor's Office has started against [Rights and Freedoms Movement leader] Ahmed Dogan, Filip Dimitrov said that Ahmed Dogan's claims are a provocation that prove that he serves the interests of the Communist Party, which has never ceased to attempt to provoke interethnic tension and conflict.

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As regards the claims of the New Policy Center to play a part in the so-called bipolar model of parliament, the SDS leader said that their arguments were not very logical.

Later Filip Dimitrov held a meeting with SDS supporters from Yambol and the surrounding region.

Ludzhev-Pushkarov Political Formation Created

AU2107175594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 21 Jul 94

[Text] The first meeting of the new Ludzhev-Pushkarov political formation took place in parliament today, after the National Councils of the New Policy Center and the Assembly for Democracy had ratified the documents. The new formation will decide on its name before Thursday [28 July], when it will hold a news conference. The two parties' national leaderships will hold a joint general meeting on Tuesday. Discussions are under way on the procedure for forming a new parliamentary group.

The idea of the new party is to eliminate the bipolar political model, win the next elections, and provide society with an alternative. In seeking partners, the new Ludzhev-Pushkarov alliance will treat all parties on an equal basis.

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Poll Shows Rise in Trust in M. Kovac, Moravcik

AU2207120994 Bratislava SME in Slovak 20 Jul 94 p 3

[Article by "(r)": "Trust in Politicians Is Increasing"]

[Text] The public opinion poll conducted at regular monthly intervals by the Slovak Statistical Office [SU SR] again contained the question: "Which Slovak politician currently enjoys your trust?" With the possibility of citing three names, the citizens polled (1,254) mentioned 78 political figures, 19 percent of whom gained at least 2.0 percent of trust (six politicians more than in June). The representative survey involved Slovak citizens over age 18. The poll was conducted from 1 to 10 July 1994.

At the same time, compared with the June poll, the number of those who trust no one has declined, from 42 to 27 percent of respondents.

The poll revealed an increase in trust in all of the politicians mentioned in the table, especially in those in the first four places.

Compared with last month's figures, trust has increased, first and foremost, in President Kovac (by 7.0 percent) and in Party of the Democratic Left Chairman Weiss (by 6.0 percent). There is also an increase in trust in Prime Minister Moravcik (by 3.0 percent) and in Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Chairman Meciar (by 3.0 percent). The SU SR poll reveals that, compared with the June survey, trust in [Slovak National Party Chairman] Slota has gone up by the same percentage.

	(in percent)	
	Jun	Jul
Vladimir Meciar	22	25
Michal Kovac	14	21
Jozef Moravcik	13	16
Peter Weiss	8	14
Ivan Gasparovic	8	8
Jan Carnogursky	4	5
Jozef Prokes	4	5
Mikulas Dzurinda	3	4
Jan Slota	1	4
Roman Kovac	3	3
Brigita Schmognerova	2	3
Vojtech Bugar	4	3
Pavol Kanis	1	3
No one	42	27

Meciar Tells UK's Hogg of HZDS Priorities

AU2207153794 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 20 Jul 94 p 1

[TA SR report: "The State Administration Is Slowing Down Capital"]

[Text] Bratislava—Douglas Hogg, the minister of state at Great Britain's Foreign Office, held a meeting yesterday with Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Chairman Vladimir Meciar. Hogg was interested in the changes that would be made in Slovakia's foreign and economic policies if the HZDS were to win the forthcoming parliamentary elections and also in the movement's stance toward privatization in Slovakia.

According to Meciar, no major changes in Slovakia's foreign policy should be expected because all of the parliamentary parties support its current orientation. The HZDS would proceed differently from the current government over privatization. With the exception of gas and arms enterprises, almost everything else would be included in it. One-third would be offered abroad, one-third would be earmarked for employees' shares, and the rest would be included in coupon privatization. The whole process should be completed in four years at the latest. It is also necessary to reorganize the state administration, which, according to Meciar, is currently acting as a brake on the influx of foreign capital.

SPZ Calls Coalition With DU, DS 'Priority'

AU2207121094 Bratislava SME in Slovak 20 Jul 94 p 3

[Article by "(dos)": "Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen—The Priority Is a Tripartite Coalition"]

[Text] Bratislava—All the problems that two weeks ago led the Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen [SPZ] to abandon the preelection bloc with the Democratic Party [DS] were resolved by the DS congress, which turned down the possibility of participation on the slate of the Democratic Union [DU]. This statement was made yesterday by SPZ Chairman V. Randa. Following its meeting with the DS leadership, the SPZ sees a preelection tripartite DU-DS-SPZ coalition as a priority. A DS-SPZ coalition is the next priority, and, if this cannot be formed, the SPZ will go into the elections independently. Randa envisages that the starting point for distributing places on the slates could be the results of the most recent opinion poll conducted by the FOCUS agency, according to which the DU, along with the National Democratic Party, would win 8.8 percent of the vote and the DS-SPZ bloc would win 7.1 percent.

Anti-Klepac KSU Members: Meeting Undemocratic

AU2207181694 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 20 Jul 94 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Undemocratically in the Christian Social Union?"]

[Text] Bratislava—A Christian Social Union [KSU] Pan-Slovak Council meeting was held in Zvolen on 17 July. Twenty KSU members have signed a statement alleging that the council was manipulated. We have selected the following from it: "The meeting was conducted in an undemocratic spirit and in a deliberately contrived atmosphere of confrontation. Four of the statement's

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signatories were not allowed to put forward their points of view, and, within the space of a minute, the members supporting them were given the chance to express their agreement or disagreement with the political line taken by Chairman Jan Klepac only by means of a show of hands. Therefore, this statement's signatories express their strong reservations against the gross violation of the principles of democracy in the council's proceedings and reserve the right to act in a manner they consider to be appropriate in the interest of asserting their democratic rights in political life and in the party."

(Signed) M. Kapusta; G. Hanakova; I. Trpak; I. Harant; E. Bielik; J. Dubnicek; O. Marcek; J. Volko; I. Prno; D. Krajcer; S. Polonsky; J. Vlha; A. Petrovic; P. Lorinc; S. Stano; M. Kavecky; P. Kebis; O. Nagyova; J. Holakovic; and L. Juriga.

Klepac Denies Accusation

AU2307161794 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 20 Jul 94 p 5

[Interview with Jan Klepac, chairman of the Christian Social Union, KSU, by Dusan Valko; place and date not given: "They Will Not Cast Doubts on the Decision"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Valko] At the regular press briefing of the Christian Social Union [KSU], a KSU Council member handed us, in your presence, a statement by several other members who have cast doubt on the democratic course of the council's meeting in Zvolen....

[Klepac] These signatories were defeated at the meeting. It has turned out, however, that the level of their political decorum is not such that they could accept defeat. Only Deputy Chairman B. Kunc has managed to come to terms with this appropriately; he has reacted by withdrawing from his political activities until the KSU Assembly session. It will be held at the end of this year. The others want to justify their defeat by alleged undemocratic methods. These, however, consisted of the fact that we refused to let nonmembers of the KSU Council into the meeting. So, when they found out that they were in an absolute minority, they wanted to outvote us. Our organizers did not let them in. I do not go to Party of the Democratic Left or Christian Democratic Movement Council meetings because I am not a member of those parties. [passage omitted]

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Government Intent on Reaching Pact With Slovakia

LD2207203594 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] The Hungarian Government wants to conclude as soon as possible the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty, but it will only sign a document that guarantees the rights of Hungarians in Slovakia. This was said Csaba Tabajdi, who is in charge of the office of Hungarians beyond the borders, when he received the leaders of the three Hungarian parties of Slovakia.

He added: Prior to signing the document, they will confer with the legal representatives of Slovakia's Hungarians.

Miklos Duray, on behalf of Co-existence, as well as Pal Farkas, representing the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, and Karoly Toth, representing the Hungarian Civic Party, called attention first and foremost to the fact that the basic treaty would not immediately resolve the tensions between the two countries. It would at the most ease them.

Keleti, Slovak Defense Minister Discuss Ties

LD2307172294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Jul 94

[Report by Ildiko Nagy on talks between Slovak Defense Minister Pavel Kanis and Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti in Bratislava; date not given]

[Text] The leaders of the two ministries exchanged views about the general situation of the two countries. With regard to the cooperation of the ministries and the armies they agreed that one of the most important tasks is the soonest possible conclusion of the agreement between the two countries' air defense systems.

They continue to regard all existing agreements between the two armies valid, and in the interest of closer cooperation, Keleti invited his Slovak colleague to the Hungarian-British military exercise planned for the end of August or beginning of September, as an observer.

The two ministers reaffirmed participation in the Partnership for Peace program and the continued cooperation within the Visegrad group. The precise details of this will be worked out by military experts in September at talks in Balatonszrntgyorgy, Hungary.

Socialist Party Presidium Holds Session

LD2207195694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] We begin with a report on the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] presidium session. According to Imre Szekeres, the HSP's acting deputy chairman, the separation of the posts of party chairman and head of government is inconceivable. It was also said that the government wants to submit the amendment to the local government law by the end of August so that the elections can be held at the beginning of November. Kata Peli Nagy reports:

[Peli Nagy] According to the Mr. Szekeres, there is nothing to justify the posts of party chairman and prime minister being held by two people. Here is Imre Szekeres:

[Begin Szekeres recording] I think that after an election victory, the party chairman, who at the same time also becomes the prime minister in a coalition government, must be strengthened politically in his position, and not weakened. This is also important for the government's stability, because after all, it is a question of a coalition government. [end recording]

[Peli Nagy] According to Szekeres, stable government would be threatened by separating the two functions if only because in the case of the HSP, in the troika of parliamentary group, government, and party leadership, it is the latter that has the leading role—in other words, the party presidium. The presidium is the policy-shaping, determining force.

[Begin Szekeres recording] In the fundamentally important political issues, it is the presidium that has to shape the principled, political stances. There has already been a topical decision in which the presidium took a stance: the presidium decided that in the matter of the HSP's stance on the media bill, it wants to make the decision itself, obviously not to debate the normative text and the detailed solutions, but in connection with the basic political concept. [end recording]

[Peli Nagy] According to the deputy chairman, all this of course does not mean that the presidium wants to set policy through binding party resolutions; agreement has to be reached about the decisions both within the government and the parliamentary group.

The presidium today decided to propose 7 October as the date for the next congress, even if basic social issues are not dealt with. They will then not only draw up a political balance sheet, but, as a result of a preliminary analytical study, they will also elaborate on the party's long-term program. Imre Szekeres has been entrusted with preparing the congress.

By the end of August the government would also like to submit to the National Assembly the amendment to the law on local government so that the elections can be held in the first days of November. The Socialist candidates will be put forward by the party organizations concerned, and Sandor Csintalan has been entrusted with the campaign work.

Socialist Party Official Denies Media Censorship

LD2207193394 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] After the Hungarian Socialist Party's Presidium session, acting deputy chairman Imre Szekeres talked

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about the Newsreel affair [dismissal of Istvan Stefka, chief editor of the program].

[Begin Szekeres recording] I can only say in this matter, without wanting to insult those in question, that I would have been glad if those who have come forward now in connection with the alleged violation of press freedom had come forward in a similar manner one or one and one-half years ago, when there was a well-grounded reason for it.

Let us wait and see what the television programs are like, what the "Newsreel" and "The Week" programs are like. Let us wait and see what the radio will be like, how it will work, and to what extent it is objective. If they meet the requirements which Hungarian society can rightly expect from both television and radio, then I think the situation will be consolidated.

It is obvious that there is no need for revenge or persecution. I learned from the heads of television and radio that they do not have such intentions. [end recording]

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Results of Opinion Poll on Popularity of Parties

WS2507113094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Jul 94 p 2

[Article by E.O.: "Popularity Changes Like a Wheel; PSL Down, SLD Up"]

[Text] The most widely known organization in Poland is "Solidarity" ["S"]. Only 1 percent of the people have not heard of it. The least known is the Alliance for Poland; as many as 45 percent of Poles are not familiar with this organization. The party with the greatest number of supporters is the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], whereas the "X" Party has the least amount of support.

In line with research conducted by the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP], which checked the popularity of 20 political organizations and parties, the PSL still leads the list; it has maintained this position since last year's parliamentary elections. At that time, as many as 54 percent of respondents to a poll by the Social Opinion Research Center expressed positive views of this organization. In June of this year, supporters of the PSL constituted only 50 percent of respondents. This party still maintains, however, its positive image among the people: Its supporters outnumber its opponents. Another such party is the Union of Labor [UP], the activities of which are approved by 43 percent of respondents (in October of last year, 48 percent of respondents to an OBOP poll declared a friendly attitude toward this party), and only 34 percent of respondents are unfavorably disposed toward UP.

The other parties and organizations have a negative image in society; among the respondents, there were more opponents than supporters of these parties.

The party that has lost the most support since October 1993 is the "X" Party (10 percent) and the Freedom Union [UW] (9 percent); UW occupied third place in the OBOP ranking last fall, while now it occupies seventh place, with 29-percent support. As many as 13 percent of respondents declare that they have never heard of UW, whereas last fall the Democratic Union was unknown to merely 1 percent of the people.

Since last year's parliamentary elections, the organization that has gained the greatest number of supporters is the All-Polish Trade Unions' Agreement: Its support has increased from 20 to 29 percent. In the popularity ranking, apart from the above-mentioned PSL and SLD, it is still behind "S" (34 percent), Rural "S" (31 percent), and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] (30 percent). The SLD, one of the two governing parties, has gained 4 percent support since last year's elections.

The percentage of people declaring that they do not know a given organization has increased since last year's parliamentary elections; this applies to all political parties. This proves that, after a period of heightened activity during the election campaign, political parties are sinking into oblivion. The Alliance for Poland, which was formed as a result of an agreement among several rightist parties, is not known to almost 50 percent of the people. One-fifth of all Poles have never heard of the Polish Socialist Party and the Movement for the Republic. Every seventh respondent to the OBOP poll does not know about the existence of the Peasant Agreement, Union for Real Politics, and UW.

The research conducted by OBOP shows the potentially broadest support for a given political party in regions. However, it is not the same as election preferences. The respondents had the option of selecting several organizations, the activities of which they accepted. In elections they must support only one party.

The poll was conducted between 14 and 18 July of this year on a 1,079-person random sample of Poles over age 16.

Attempts To Form Centrist Parties Analyzed

WS2207135494 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Jul 94 p 2

[Commentary by Janusz A. Majcherek, a reporter for CZAS KRAKOWSKI and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, under the "Points of View" rubric: "The Ill-Fated Center"]

[Text] I think Polish politics must definitely be dogged by ill fortune that prevents the establishment by anybody who has tried to do so of a solid and stable party of the center or an efficient configuration of the middle of the political spectrum, as well as the establishment of stable links among the most numerous electorate of all—those people between the right wing and the left. Jaroslaw Kaczynski did not succeed in that. He displayed such ambitions, and he even established the appropriate party, but then he did not prevent it from losing its moderately centrist nature, and so Kaczynski just drifted away, along with the party, to areas lying outside of the main trends of social expectations and preferences.

Lech Walesa did not accomplish that, either. Sure, he had the capabilities, but, instead of positioning himself between the left and the right, he tried to position himself above all existing orientations, after which he established a social movement comprising several "pillars," which got entangled with one another in the end, rendering the entire composition nothing more than a skeleton.

When it comes to current times, in turn, the fate of probably the most serious attempt to position oneself in the political center—I mean one initiated by Jan Maria Rokita and being implemented by the Freedom Union [UW] (formerly the Democratic Union)—is hanging by a thread. The attempt tried to combine, perhaps somewhat mechanically, the idea of a strong and moderate center (which used to be Kaczynski's guiding light in the past), with the concept of "supporting pillars" coming from the president. The strong UW basis was supposed to be supported by two such pillars: a Christian-democratic

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pillar to the right and a social-liberal one to the left. The entire structure was supposed to secure the maintenance of a position of balance that would be a classic example of the center type, but, recently, the pillars moved apart from one another, forming a split position. As everybody knows, it is not possible to be in a split position with much vigor for too long.

To complete the paradoxical nature of the situation, plans for establishing center parties collapse precisely at the point when the best conditions for their establishment arise. Lech Walesa missed the opportunity even though he became president, the crisis of the Center Accord [PC] was initiated by the taking over of the prime ministerial post and of key governmental posts, while UW is at the brink of a split right after a...merger [with the Liberal-Democratic Congress, KLD] and in a situation where it had almost no competition in the center. If one were to ignore the irrational "dogged by ill fortune" factor, however, reasons for the failure of these initiatives should be searched for, among factors such as ordinary sluggishness (in the president's case) or extremism (which used to be the case with the PC and which continues to be so with UW). In the PC, the extremism demonstrated itself as file-checking/decommunization radicalism by Jan Olszewski and his associates. In UW, in turn, socialism is the biggest enemy of centrist trends.

Barbara Labuda, who is popularly perceived as someone who most destabilizes the situation in UW, is not the biggest danger to the party's existence or even to the party's maintaining a centrist position. UW's electorate, being largely based on the new and young middle class, which is just emerging, was not particularly outraged by the anticlerical statements made by the hotheaded woman because the electorate is ambivalent on the issue itself, or perhaps it is even favorably predisposed to trends to loosen the "strict moral straitjacket." Still, the electorate will not tolerate the ideas of Jacek Kuron or Zofia Kuratowska, who demand a growing increase of social assistance for those who do not know how to earn their own money or who do not want to do so because that would mean a further and growing redistribution of income and, consequently, would mean that the resources of the electorate—representatives of the middle class who make decent livings—are being depleted. UW has a chance to score political success only as the most serious, reasonable, but persistent alternative to socialism. If it becomes dominated by socialists, it will fall into political oblivion. The question would then be: Who would vote for yet another socialist party?

UW still has a chance to survive and fill the center of the Polish political spectrum. After all, there continues to be a moderate centrist electorate, which will continue to increase in size, while UW's competitors continue to be incapable of pushing UW out of the center. So UW's fate is in its own hands. The fate cannot be based, however, on the concept of socialism with a UW face. UW's left wing has been accusing the leadership of "making the party right-wing" as a result of the merger with the KLD. That could be true, but, as far as the moderate right wing is concerned, there is at least a lot to choose from, as long as the chaos continues and there is no definite leader, while voter preferences are not shaped one way or the other. The left wing, on the other hand, has two strong parties, one of them being the strongest party in the country, generally speaking. When it comes to the progressive intelligentsia, whose ideals are represented by Kuratowska and Kuron, it is not an electorate of the future.

True enough, there will always be various anticlerical figures, advocates of homosexual marriages, and various visionaries of social justice and other left-wing garbage in universities and various kinds of institutes. Their position in the scholarly community, however, as well as their intellectual standing will always decrease along with the increasing numbers of such people, while possible enthusiasts of social programs will not support them, anyway, because they will prefer to vote for [Labor Minister] Miller or Spychalska [chairwoman of the All-Poland Trade Unions Agreement].

The new middle class, however (or the new "people of the cities," to use Rokita's terminology)—that is to say, all those who approve of the changes of the past five years and benefit from them because of their own work and not [unemployment] benefits—continues to be waiting for political protection and representation. Neither the right wing nor the center right wing has managed to fulfill their expectations since the parties involved themselves in ambiguous arrangements with "Solidarity," which is currently the main obstacle to reform. UW will not fulfill expectations, either, if it involves itself in ambiguous arrangements with the socialists or decides to go socialist itself. So the center of society will remain a desolate place, and it will continue to wait for its own political representation.

Results of Privatization for 1st Six Months

WS2507112794 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23-24 Jul 94 pp 1, 7

[Article by Ada Kostrz-Kostecka: "Finances of Privatization in 1994; More Than Budget Wanted"]

[Text] Even if the employees of the Capital Privatization Department of the Privatization Ministry [MPW] went on vacation until the end of the year and the ministry did not sell even one enterprise, the projections in this year's budget law concerning the revenues derived from capital privatization would be met—on one condition: that the shares of Stalexport are sold in the public offer scheduled for mid-August.

If the 5 million shares of Stalexport offered by the State Treasury are sold at even the minimum proposed price—that is, 340,000 zlotys [Z] per share—this would yield revenues of more than Z1.7 trillion. In line with the final calculations of the MPW, after the first six months,

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the budget already received almost Z3.33 trillion. In all, it would be more than Z5 trillion; the budget law envisioned Z4.5 billion [as published] in revenue from privatization (without banks, for which the State Treasury expects to receive an additional Z4.3 trillion).

As a consequence, the results of the first six months of this year, which are much better than the results of the first six months of 1993, have contradicted the statements that privatization has come to a standstill.

The sum of over Z3 trillion also includes revenues from the sale of enterprises whose privatization began earlier (for example, when a considerable share parcel was sold to a strategic investor) and ended this year, or cases when money for the sale of stocks or shares arrived only recently. This was the case with Rafako, for instance: this year the ministry received Z450 billion for shares sold in public offer.

However, even if we counted only the evident capital privatization carried out this year, the results would also be better than a year ago: In the first six months, the sale of firms yielded Z2.12 trillion; a year ago, almost Z1.66 trillion.

Where did the budget gain the greatest amount of money this year? In terms of money, the most attractive privatization was the sale of the San Confectionery Industry Plant in Jaroslaw to the British company United Biscuits; the State Treasury received Z626 billion. Moreover, the sale of Jelfa in the public offer earned MPW Z448 billion.

Among the most profitable transactions was the sale of the cookware factory in Wronki (Z248 billion) and that of the Warta cement mill (Z132 billion). Even the sale of the San plant, however, did not break the record—the sale of the paper mill in Kwidzyn; in 1992, the U.S. concern International Paper Co. paid $120 million (much more than Z1 trillion) for the mill.

It must be remembered, however, that the sum of revenues from capital privatization includes not only the sale of majority parcels, but also the payment for shares purchased by employees and management. With the lower prices of employees' shares and, if one takes into account the fact that they buy 20 percent of shares, at most, the share of these receipts in the overall revenue is considerably lower.

It is worth recalling that, in 1993, the budget law concerning revenues from capital privatization, which were supposed to amount to Z4.5 trillion, was not implemented. In fact, this was decided by an accident: Two checks, including one that pertained to the sale of the glass works in Jaroslaw, came in with a two-week delay, and, from the formal point of view, until the end of 1993, the ministry received almost Z4.4 trillions of revenues.

Whereas the results of capital privatization are quite optimistic, the revenues from other types of privatization do not look so good. They are not, however, registered by the MPW but by the Finance Ministry because the money comes to the budget not via the MPW. Until the end of May—these are the only figures the ministry has available—the budget's revenues derived from the liquidation of enterprises amounted to Z161 billion, and from leasing—Z780 billion from payments for liquidating an enterprise—Z18 billion. In all, it amounted to less than Z1 trillion, while this year's budget law envisioned Z3.5 trillion.

By the end of May, capital privatization, including the sale of Bank Slaski, yielded Z7.2 trillion to the budget; in all, privatization yielded over Z8 trillion. It was envisioned in the budget law that the budget would receive Z12.3 trillion from all types of privatization.

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Iliescu Recovering 'Well' From Operation

AU2507093594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 25 Jul 94

[Text] As yesterday, President Ion Iliescu's condition today—the third day after his gallbladder operation—is developing well, sources from the management of Elias Hospital told our station. In an exclusive statement for our station, President Iliescu thanked those who had shown interest in his health and the progress of his recovery and who had conveyed to him warm sentiments of solidarity and encouragement and best wishes for a speedy recovery. Mr. Iliescu assured all of them that the post-surgery process is proceeding normally. The president expressed particular gratitude to the physicians and staff of Elias Hospital for the professionalism and care they have shown both in the preparatory and post-surgery periods.

Daily Welcomes Perry Visit, NATO Cooperation

AU2307191594 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Jul 94 p 1

[Article by Bazil Stefan: "A Welcome Visit"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry began his week-long tour of a number of European countries situated within or in the close vicinity of the bloody conflict zone of former Yugoslavia with a visit to Bucharest. Quite often symbolic gestures are very important in politics, and I believe that we can attach such importance to the fact that Mr. Perry has started his tour in Romania. We can do that for two reasons that have emerged from the statements made by the two defense ministers at their joint news conference. The first has to do with Mr. Perry's main goal, namely to find a solution to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to prevent its expansion to other republics or regions of former Yugoslavia. Therefore, it is quite obvious that, in the search for such a solution, the position, opinions, and possible suggestions of the neighboring countries are not devoid of importance, if only for the simple fact that the "Balkanization" of the conflict would affect these countries most directly. The fact that, after the dismemberment of former Yugoslavia, Romania has remained the second power in the Balkan region after Turkey and has also managed, after the convulsions of the first post-revolutionary years, to achieve a state of relative domestic stability—which is all the more valuable given the explosions around us—make our country a partner in much demand. All the more so as one cannot ignore the strategic importance of our country, which derives from its geographic and geopolitical position (plus its human, economic, and military potential)—its immediate proximity to such seismic zones of maximum political unrest as the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union.

The second reason is that Mr. Perry wanted to honor the fact that Romania was the first country to have signed the Partnership for Peace [PFP] accord with NATO, as it was conceived by the North-Atlantic Alliance, that is as a general cooperation offer extended to all Central and Eastern European countries, including Russia, that can also open up prospects for their joining at a later time, without guarantees to this extent and, what is more, without full security guarantees, either. Considering that the NATO offer—although not fully satisfactory from the viewpoint of the security interests of the nations in Central and Eastern Europe—is a step forward compared to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC] and also leaves open the door for adherence, Romanian inaugurated the cotillion of PFP signatures, whose number currently exceeds the figure of 20. The United States appreciated this gesture, because the disappointment with the PFP plan in Prague and Warsaw threatened to lead to the PFP's failure. It is also to Romania's merit that such a failure did not come to pass. Today, the countries that have signed the PFP are working out or already negotiating (as in our case) the Individual Program, which contains all the practical details of cooperation within the PFP. It is one of the problems that has constituted, together with the issue of direct cooperation between the Romanian and U.S. armies, the main topic of the Bucharest talks. It is undoubtedly salutary that the United States, which has been and remains the main guarantor of European security, includes Romania in this extended military cooperation. The main thing is to prove day by day that this is the direction in which we are moving and that we can afford it.

In conclusion, here is a necessary correction: In our correspondents' report on the news conference of Messrs. William Perry and Gheorghe Tinca [Romanian minister of national defense], the phrase "bilateral base" was heard and erroneously translated as "military base." Of course, the tape recorder played a trick on us, but there might also have been a dose of what the Americans call "wishful thinking" in it, too. Therefore, there was no mention of the prospect of a NATO military base in Romania, no matter how much we would like that. Nevertheless, this does not prevent us from welcoming, even in advance, any military cooperation projects with the United States and NATO.

General Pastinica Named Commander of 2d Army

AU2507110294 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 21 Jul 94 p 10

[Text] Yesterday, at Buzau garrison, Gheorghe Tinca, minister of national defense, announced the appointment of Major General Nicolae Pastinica to the position of commander of the 2d Army, replacing the deceased Colonel General Stefan Guse.

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Izetbegovic Cabinet: New Negotiations 'Ruled Out'

AU2207190994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] Due to various interpretations of the statement by President Izetbegovic in connection with the Serbian rejection of the contact group peace plan, we received the following explanation from the cabinet of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency president:

Our acceptance of the latest peace plan by the contact group was given on the grounds of assurances by the most responsible representatives of the international community that they would meet their obligations created by the acceptance or rejection of the plan.

Certain hesitation was noticeable yesterday in that respect, so President Izetbegovic thought it was necessary to point out that Bosnia-Herzegovina expected the fulfillment of these obligations, and that new negotiations at our expense were ruled out. In the case of the latter, our unconditional acceptance would be proclaimed null and void.

This is said in the statement from the cabinet of President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

Silajdzic Comments on Plan

AU2207193394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Zagreb]

[Excerpts] If the international community does not act in accordance with its promises, Bosnia-Herzegovina will withdraw its positive response to the contact group proposal. This was stated in Zagreb by Bosnia-Herzegovina and Federation Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic after talks with U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry. On the other hand, William Perry promised: The lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government is still one of the options considered by the international community. However, the international community will decide on its further course of action toward Bosnia-Herzegovina after the meeting of the contact group ministers on 30 July in Geneva, Perry remarked. [passage omitted]

One should add that the Croatian media carried in a very cynical way yesterday's statement by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic that the Bosnian unconditional acceptance of the contact group plan will be null and void unless the international community meets the obligations it has taken on itself. The commentary on the state-run television was along the lines of: Bosnia-Herzegovina is already changing its mind. This is the same as if someone were to express surprise that Minister Granic should ask today the U.S. official for support for the integrity of Croatia. One would have expected our federal and confederal partner to carry the news from Sarajevo with sympathy and support, and not with cynicism.

Serbian Sources: Peace Plan Not Rejected

LD2207195094 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] The version of the declaration by the Serb republic People's Assembly regarding conditions for accepting the Contact Group plan, which was released to the public, is not entirely true, SRNA has unofficially learned from circles close to the Serb negotiating delegation.

The Serb republic delegation deems that the declaration cannot be interpreted as a rejection of the Contact Group plan. Such an interpretation, as we have unofficially learned from the Serb republic delegation, has been attributed to those international forces which are in favor of continuing the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, to the detriment of the Serb people.

EU Administrator of Mostar Addresses Ceremony

LD2307143494 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 23 Jul 94

[Address by Hans Koschnick, EU administrator of Mostar, at his inauguration ceremony in Mostar—live relay, in German with passage by passage translation into Serbo-Croatian]

[Text] [Words indistinct] excellencies, ladies, and gentlemen. My inauguration as administrator of Mostar, this once famous pearl of Herzegovina, moves me. If, in the presence of the president of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the president of Croatia, as well as the two mayors responsible for the survival and further development of Mostar so far, the responsible government representatives of the European Union are making an effort to take part in this inauguration, then this proves the extraordinary will of the community of European nations to stand by this mistreated city.

I am aware of the unique nature of the task, although, on behalf of the European Union the Bosnian and Croatian leadership, I am venturing to bring together two of the disputing national groups for joint—I stress joint—cooperation on rebuilding work. [sentence as heard] To be bridge builders in the literal and the metaphorical sense is a higher goal. But it can be achieved only when the not unlimited national possibilities of the European Union are used sensibly and as far as possible in consensus.

This is being made easier by sending experts from almost all EU member states. In our administration, this staff will seek to ensure, just as I will, that all we undertake professionally will be done in agreement with the representatives of the two important national groups from Mostar. We are counting on cooperation. [passage indistinct]

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Izetbegovic Addresses Ceremony

LD2307130494 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1002 GMT 23 Jul 94

[Address by Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic at ceremony for inauguration of Hans Koschnick, EU administrator for Mostar, in Mostar—live relay]

[Text] Dear guests, ladies, and gentlemen. This is a moment of great hope for Mostar and its citizens, who have endured indescribable suffering for the last two years.

This is a day when, I hope, a new page is being opened in relations between the two peoples. I am sure that all of you who arrived in the city today are shocked by its sad state. Its misfortune is almost unreal. For 400 years, through so many generations, Mostar was a jewel of architecture and comfort for the souls of travelers. It was the city of sunshine and light. Today Mostar is grievously wounded, in appearance and in every other way.

Much has been killed in Mostar in the last two years, but the spirit of Mostar, for which the citizens of this city are well known, has not yielded. It is a spirit characterized by courage and a cheerful attitude toward life, whatever life may bring. The reconstruction of Mostar begins today, based on this spirit. The people of Mostar have preserved in their souls everything that was destroyed in real life. This is why, despite everything, it is possible to reconstruct the city.

This is a challenge for Europe, but also an opportunity to reaffirm the values on which it rests. We thank Europe for this, which presents a chance and a risk at the same time.

For our part we will do everything expected from us to make the project of the reconstruction of life in Mostar succeed. We wish Mr. Koschnik, who has already won our affection with the courage he displayed in taking on such a hard task, and Mr. Orucevic and Mr. Brajkovic, Muslim and Croat mayors of Mostar, full success in their honourable mission. Thank you.

Tudjman Addresses Inauguration

LD2307132194 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 23 July 94

[Address by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman at the ceremony for the inauguration of Hans Koschnick, EU administrator for Mostar, in Mostar—live relay]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Kinkel and other European Union [EU] representatives, Mr. Akashi and other UN representatives, Mr. Izetbegovic and Mr. Zubak, dear people of Mostar now headed by Mr. Koschnick, Mr. Brajkovic and Mr. Urucevic:

As the preceding speakers have already said, we are witnessing an exceptional historical event today, that is important not only for this historic and long-suffering town, but also for the whole of Europe. This is not only an issue of the reconstruction of devastated Mostar; this is also an issue in that in addition to rebuilding the destroyed bridge between the western and the eastern parts of the city, a permanent bridge between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Western democracy is being built.

The introduction of the EU administration of Mostar is evident proof of the implementation of the Washington agreement, which we signed under the high auspices of the United States to restore peace in this part of the world and to devote ourselves to the peaceful reconstruction.

At the same time, this administration represents the first obvious sign of the more resolute involvement by the EU in the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is evidently not a crisis affecting only this region, but also the whole of Europe and even the world.

By taking over the administration of Mostar, the EU has also assumed the commitment to lend not only material help, but also moral and political support for healing the consequences of the war as soon as possible, and for this part of the world to join Western civilization, and to contribute through this to the creation of the new international order in this part of south-eastern Europe.

I hope, indeed I am convinced, that Mr. Koschnick will enjoy the support from all the population, both the Croats and the Muslims, and especially from his closest associates, Mr. Brajkovic and Urucevic, in performing his arduous task. Without such support, the success of this mission would certainly not be as high as we might anticipate.

On my part, speaking on behalf of Croatia—one of the signatories to the Washington agreement on the Muslim-Croat federation and the confederation with Croatia—I can promise you, as far as the Croatian side is concerned, you will enjoy all the help in performing your high task, not only to help Mostar and all of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also to contribute, as soon as possible, to the solution of the crisis affecting this part of the world. Not only us, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the confederation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, but also the whole of Europe and the whole democratic world, have high hopes in this cooperation, your work and results. We also expect these permanent results to be the foundations for the establishment of a new international order in this part of the world.

In the name of this and with these hopes, I would like again to thank Mr. Kinkel and the European Union, while to you dear people of Mostar, now headed by Mr. Koschnick, I wish much success in your future life.

Zubak Addresses Inauguration

LD2307132294 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1007 GMT 23 Jul 94

[Address by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, at the ceremony for the inauguration of Hans Koschnick, EU administrator for Mostar, in Mostar—live relay]

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[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, although the history of the city of Mostar is long and abounding in events of historic importance for the city and further afield, never has such a magnificent gathering taken place here of high-ranking statesmen, political, diplomatic, and military representatives of the European Union [EU], United States, United Nations, and members of the EU. I doubt its future chronicle will ever record such an important meeting again.

Unfortunately, this gathering is taking place following the unnecessary and senseless confrontations between the people living in this area. I am sure its future will not record such tragic events again.

I would like to welcome the esteemed guests on behalf of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and wish Mr. Koschnick a successful and inspired work engagement, to bring about the rebirth of this ancient city in all its beauty.

The political environment of the Washington [Agreement] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation in Mostar should finally affirm in real life the political partnership between the Croat and Bosniak-Muslim people based on equal rights and freedom of our two constituent peoples. The historic experience of both peoples should be a lesson to everyone to use a different approach in resolving all problems. In the spirit of optimism we must try to strengthen what has already been achieved and open new avenues for a new time and new generations.

The noble efforts by the EU will help us shape a new reality based on realistic foundations. For this we need to put in real effort and not just desire and good wishes. We, who create our policy, wish clearly to express the hope that the joint political will of our peoples will lead us towards achieving an objective which should be clear and sensible to everyone and in harmony with the objectives of those who are willing to help us. These objectives include a political partnership, equal rights in freedom and before the law, and coherence in relation to the policies of the international community. This also implies the rejection of all ballast which might stand in the way of such will.

This is undoubtedly a very difficult task, but I believe the constitution of the federation provides such opportunities for both sides. I look forward to our joint and continuous efforts focused on creation and work.

I would like to thank the EU and all people of goodwill once again and in particular Mr. Koschnick, who has assumed this extremely responsible duty. He should not doubt our willingness to help him and I believe he will succeed. Thank you.

Tudjman Comments on Talks

LD2307141694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 94

[Text] After the ceremony of Koschnick's [EU administrator for Mostar] inauguration, Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman and President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic had separate meetings with high-ranking representatives of the European Union led by Kinkel and Papoulias. Following the talks President Tudjman made a statement for Croatian Radio:

[Begin Tudjman recording] As you already know, we are used to talks with EU representatives and others regarding our joint efforts for the restoration of peace and seek more resolute steps in that respect. It is obvious that the EU expects us, and we have already offered them guarantees that the Croatian side—Croatia as a state and the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina—will do everything to put into practice the administration of Mostar, the federation and confederation and thus create conditions for peace. [end recording]

Following the meetings, the participants visited the devastated bishop's palace and the damaged cathedral in the western part of Mostar. After that President Tudjman walked with his associates from the cathedral to Rondo and was warmly greeted by the citizens of Mostar.

The participants of the Mostar ceremony have crossed the Neretva River to tour the part of the town on the left bank. This is the end of the official part of protocol of Hans Koschnick's inauguration, after which President Tudjman is to have talks with political representatives of the Croat people.

UN Plane Fired Upon on Takeoff From Sarajevo

LD2207212294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2046 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, July 22 (TANJUG)—A U.N. plane was shot at Friday during take off from the Sarajevo airport wounding one person aboard, said U.N. forces commander for Sarajevo Gen. Andre Subirou, as reported by REUTERS. The Ukrainian IL-77 plane, according to eyewitnesses, continued its flight despite being fired on. Neither the identity of the wounded person nor nature of the would were disclosed. The plane was the only aircraft to land Friday at Sarajevo airport, which was closed since Thursday, after three U.N. planes were also shot at Wednesday and Thursday. U.N. forces officials were unable to determine who fired on the aircraft.

Airport Closed for Investigation

AU2307172494 Paris AFP in English 1636 GMT 23 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, July 23 (AFP)—Sarajevo airport was ordered closed Saturday "until further notice", pending investigations into shots fired at five UN planes over the last three days, a UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said here. [passage omitted]

Saturday morning, the airport was on yellow alert, which means that pilots wanting to fly in are advised that UN forces on the ground cannot guarantee their safety.

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Later, however, UNPROFOR Bosnian commander General Sir Michael Rose ordered the airport closed while "investigations are carried out into the shootings," Major Dacre Holloway said.

The airport does not usually handle humanitarian flights at the weekend and the closure therefore only affected UNPROFOR flights. It was expected to remain closed at least until Monday.

UNPROFOR officials said it was not immediately clear who had fired at the planes, though in the most recent incident bursts of gunfire were seen coming from Serb-held territory near the airport.

Serbian General Blames Muslims

LD2407180594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1726 GMT 24 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—General Stanislav Galic, the commander of the Serb Republic Army's Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, and General Andre Soubirou, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for the Sarajevo sector, held talks in Lukavica today.

The immediate cause for the talks were frequent Muslim actions on the Sarajevo front in the last few days.

General Galic said the Serb Republic Army was still refraining from responding to constant Muslim provocations. But, if the provocations continue, UNPROFOR will also be responsible for the consequences, for it has been silently watching the Muslims firing four times in the last five days on the UN transport planes landing at and taking off from Sarajevo airport, he stressed.

Generals Galic and Soubirou agreed on the resumption of work of a commission for the registering of cease-fire violations.

The French general left Lukavica for the Muslim part of the city, where he is expected to discuss the same issue with representatives of the Muslim side.

UNPROFOR Reports Fighting Around Bihac

LD2307180494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 94

[Text] Intense clashes between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and units loyal to Fikret Abdic have been registered over the past 24 hours in western Bosnia, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] headquarters in Sarajevo has reported. The fiercest clashes took place in the the Skokovi area, where UN monitors registered 500 shell explosions.

Croatian Army Shells Trebinje, Other Villages

LD2507093594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0913 GMT 25 Jul 94

[Text] Bileca, July 25 (TANJUG)—Croatian regular Army Sunday launched an artillery attack on the Serb town of Trebinje and the surrounding villages in Popovo Polje, eastern Herzegovina.

The attack caused considerable damage to civilian facilities, the Bosnian Serb military sources said Monday morning.

During the strong Croatian attack on Trebinje, a general alarm was sounded in the town Sunday night. The attack stopped only after the Serb forces responded strongly by firing on the Croatian positions.

The Croatian regular Army controlled one-third of the Trebinje municipality for over two years. Trebinje is about 20 kms away from Dubrovnik, a town on the Adriatic coast.

Before the attack on Trebinje, the Croatian Army several times shelled Serb villages in Popovo Polje and Trebinjska Suma during the day.

There were no reports on possible casualties in the Croatian attack on Trebinje, the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said.

Serb Attack on Doboj-Teslic Route Reported

AU2507105494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 25 Jul 94

[Text] Late last night the Chetniks fiercely attacked the villages along the Teslic-Doboj road, Mirudin Aldobasic reports from the Information Center of 7th South Operative Group. There was great material damage in the villages of Putesici and Kalosevici, while Jelah has suffered, too. The attacks resumed early this morning.

The Chetniks bombarded the positions of the fighters of [word indistinct] Jelah Famous Hill Brigade with long-range artillery from the direction of Bugarinovici. These infantry attacks by the aggressor were repelled with ease. At the time of our correspondent's dispatch, the Chetniks from Mt. Ozren intensified their artillery attacks on the villages [word indistinct] and Martuzici, as well as on the positions of the [word indistinct] Doboj 3d Famous Brigade.

TANJUG Notes 'Liquidations' of Tuzla Serbs

LD2507105394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1022 GMT 25 Jul 94

[Text] Bijeljina, July 25 (TANJUG)—Suffering of Serbs in the Moslem-controlled northeastern Bosnian town of Tuzla and surroundings has reached unbelievably tragic proportions, a Bosnian Serb republic official said Monday.

"In addition to incessant humiliations and various forms of terror, mass liquidations of able-bodied Serbs are also underway, though the Moslem authorities attempt to cover this with all manner of lies," said Vojislav Djurkovic, the Bosnian Serb republic regional commission for free movement of civilian population chairman.

"Not even underaged Serb children and their mothers are spared the cruel sufferings. This is also confirmed by

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the recent drama in Tuzla, in the Dojcina Lukica street number 40, staged by the Tuzla followers of Hizbollah," Djurkovic said.

"Brother and sister Branko and Brankica Medic, twins born in 1982, disappeared without trace together with their grandmother Ljeposava—an invalid without legs—after their mother Radinka was cruelly murdered," Djurkovic said.

Three days ago, president of the Tuzla-based Serb humanitarian society Dobrotvor Lazar Kistic was brutally arrested in his own home and taken away to an unknown destination. His wife and two children also disappeared after that, Djurkovic added.

The Serb side has detailed information and evidence about all these crimes and many others as well as their perpetrators, Djurkovic said.

"Contrary to that, in line with the principles of humanism, the Serb side will continue abiding by the international legal standards and enabling departure of Moslem population, who so wish and in desired direction," regardless of the sex and age, he said.

Djurkovic again appealed to the Moslem side to put an end immediately to the pogroms and persecutions of the Serb population in the region of Tuzla. He also said the representatives of international humanitarian organizations were expected to provide concrete help to these ends as well.

The Serb authorities have demanded free passage to be allowed to the Bosnian Serb republic for each of the 16.5 thousand Serbs from the Tuzla region, but the Moslem authorities have persistently rejected this.

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U.S.-Croatia Talks Show 'Convergence of Views'

LD2207143094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] A brief news conference was held after the talks between U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic, and Defense Minister Gojko Susak.

This is the first meeting of high-ranking representatives of the U.S. Government with representatives of independent Croatia, U.S. Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith said.

The talks with Ministers Granic and Susak showed a convergence of views on the situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. William Perry said: I will inform U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and President Clinton about the results of my talks with Ministers Granic and Susak tomorrow, on my return to Washington.

Bilateral relations were also discussed, as well as education opportunities in the United States for Croatian experts.

Croatia gives full support to the Washington agreement and the contact group's plan, Mate Granic said at the news conference. President Tudjman is to travel to Mostar tomorrow. As regards UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] status in Croatia, it was demanded that the UN Security Council resolutions be implemented, in particular the one on the control of the Croatian borders with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mate Granic said, Croatia also demands that UN protected areas be reintegrated in the legal system of the Republic of Croatia as soon as possible.

UN Envoy Explains UNPROFOR Operation

AU2207183194 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 94 p 5

[Interview with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia, by Branka Primorac and Marina Seric in Vienna; date not given: "We Are Staying For as Long as Croatia Wants Us To"]

[Text] It has been a little over six months since Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, arrived in Zagreb. It was an exceptionally difficult and dynamic period, and Akashi was much attacked and accused. At the beginning of our conversation, he told us that he felt comfortable in Zagreb, because it is "a little city that still reflects the charm and beauty of 19th century Europe," and that he likes the parks and the Upper Town, so each Sunday he walks from his hotel to the Upper Town, and goes to a little park. Comparing Zagreb to Tokyo, he said Tokyo was too big, too modern, and too noisy. His obligations are such that, ever since he arrived in Zagreb, he has not had the time to go home.

We talked to Mr. Akashi in Vienna, where he held lectures at the International Academy for Peace on Wednesday and Thursday [13, 14 July], where, at present, a seminar is being held on the UN peace operations. Asked why he had not given any interviews to the Croatian media in a long time, he answered that, following his arrival, upon which he met with reporters, he had no time, as he travelled to all the parts of the former Yugoslavia almost every day. Mr. Akashi expressed his regrets for not being able to meet with reporters as often as he considers necessary and said that he felt a little guilty because of it.

[VECERNJI LIST] Do you feel this moment of addressing the Croatian public is an especially important one, perhaps even crucial? Do you have anything to say to Croatia, perhaps on behalf of the United Nations?

[Akashi] Yes, I think there is a kind of impatience in Croatia, and a belief that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] considers the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina to be more important, while Croatia comes second. I would like to say that this is not so. We devote equal attention to both countries, but it seems to me that the international media have turned to Bosnia more. However, UNPROFOR has a great number of soldiers in Croatia. Both the supreme commander and I have devoted great attention to Croatia and your problems, and I think that the public should know more about our activities—better late than never, I would say.

The Agreement Is Being Implemented

[VECERNJI LIST] There is the impression among the Croatian public that nothing is happening, that UNPROFOR maintains the status quo, particularly in the UNPA's [UN Protected Areas]. Many people even doubt that the Zagreb Agreement is being implemented!

[Akashi] The Zagreb Agreement is being implemented and applied on the ground, and much energy has been devoted to this. You would be surprised if you could see how much effort has been made to put up new checkpoints in the separation areas. Some 300 of our civilian policemen have been cooperating closely with the Croatian police and the police of the Serbs in the UNPA's in order to secure the implementation of the agreement. The agreement is being violated; we conduct daily analyses of how many violations there are and how serious they are. All three police forces have been working together to secure law and order in these areas. As I have said, there have been violations, but only minor ones. We have been spending a lot of time trying to persuade the soldiers and policemen who enter the separation area that they should not be there and that they have to withdraw. However, they do withdraw calmly in most cases.

[VECERNJI LIST] However, there are also the refugees: They cannot return to their homes, which causes great dissatisfaction. UNPROFOR is being blocked. How do you view their demands and the new situation?

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[Akashi] In Sector East, it has turned into an exceptionally serious problem. Our people are running out of food and fuel, so we had to start supplying them by helicopter. I understand the refugees very well, and I sympathize deeply with those who want to return to their homes. However, their return must not be by force, and it must be implemented in an atmosphere of complete safety. I believe that the situation is charged with negative emotionsat the moment and that things are even becoming a little hostile. They have to realize that they cannot go home just like that. There are many places that have been mined, and we do not have the maps of these mine fields. We have lost four soldiers in the past months alone. Clearing mines is a very dangerous job. It takes a lot of time, many people, and a great quantity of technology. Many of the mines are plastic, so metal detectors cannot find them.

Return Soon

[VECERNJI LIST] What about the areas in which there are no mine fields, but in which the Serbs who have remained there will not even hear of the Croat refugee returning?

[Akashi] We have been talking to your government, and we will soon also talk to the Serb authorities about an experimental return of the refugees—on a small scale—to certain villages in the separation area, in which only Croats lived before they were expelled. Taking into account the safety of these paople and assessing what the possibilities are of another conflict breaking out, we will try to find such villages. If the experience is good and the return successful, we will extend this experiment.

These things do not happen before the eyes of the public, and the public does not even know how much effort is being made for small progress to be achieved and the situation improved. There is still much mutual mistrust and fear, which need to be overcome. It will take a lot of time for the wounds to heal. I can say from experience that if a war lasts for two years, it takes at least 20 for the wounds to heal and the situation to become normal. However, if a war lasts for three years, it will take an entire century for everything to grow back. This is why we want the cease-fire agreement to be implemented as soon as possible, and the second round of negotiations, regarding the economic measures that are to lead to some kind of cooperation, to start. Naturally, all this has to be based on the common interest of both peoples. After that, we will embark upon the most ambitious part, that relating to political issues. We must take it step by step. We spend a great deal of time collecting information, talking to the sides, to the local population, and we also talk among ourselves about what could be done.

I have received a letter from [republic of Serb Krajina President] Milan Martic, in which he proposed that the negotiations be resumed. There was disappointment in the recent past, when the Serb side prohibited Croatian reporters from going to Plitvice. There are objective chances for no further disappointment in that aspect, because we will not be "shipwrecked" into another such meeting. Last time, there was so much effort, work, and consideration invested in the preparation and organization of the Plitvice talks, and they were not even held in the end.

We Will Not Give Up

[VECERNJI LIST] In the letter he sent you, Milan Martic said he was prepared to continue the negotiations if they are carried out exclusively under the aegis of the United Nations. He therefore wants to exclude the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Russia, and the United States. How would you comment on this?

[Akashi] This will not happen. The international community must be consistent in its efforts to resolve the crisis. We will always talk to those who help to establish dialogue. Even if the dialogue is unsuccessful, I think there are reasons for trying again. We will always find an answer. I hope it will be better than those in the past.

[VECERNJI LIST] Many hold you responsible for what happened at Gorazde.

[Akashi] I admit that it all took time, but I believe that, in the end, we achieved everything that was planned: The soldiers and the heavy weapons were withdrawn. Many thought we had to ask for NATO air support, but I think that we still achieved what is contained in Security Council Resolution 913. In achieving our aims, we employed the means that were the best. In talking with Karadzic, Milosevic, and Martic, you have also had some negative experiences. Can you still trust them when they make a promise?

[Akashi] There have been disappointments, but there has also been some success. There are many reasons for people not keeping their promises. There are situations in wars in which the orders from the top do not reach the local commanders on the ground. They sometimes simply do not hear the order; some of them have preoccupations of their own, and sometimes there is disobedience or even the sabotaging of the orders "from above." Sometimes these orders need to be repeated, imposed by force....

We reached the agreement on the Serb soldiers withdrawing from Gorazde in late April. Although the soldiers were ordered to withdraw from the exclusion area, we still find Serb soldiers in it. When we told Karadzic they were still there, he was sincerely surprised. However, we managed to get those soldiers out of there, though, lately, we have been finding young people who do not wear uniforms, but are well armed. Then you object again that there are armed people, policemen. However, it is strange to find groups of these "policemen" in the woods. You will agree that the police usually patrol in towns or villages. Then the same process of warning, issuing orders, control starts again.... It was only in June that we managed to establish a satisfactory

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situation in Gorazde. This process can sometimes be really slow, but, in the end, if you do not give up, you do achieve something after all.

He who Laughs Last...

[VECERNJI LIST] You have been accused of making mistakes by all sides!

[Akashi] Yes, that is the fate of all mediators. I would be more worried if one side were to praise me, and the other to criticize me. I like the fact that all the sides have been criticizing me. We are here to resolve the conflict, and we should not take anyone's side. In a way, we sympathize with all the sides. We must have good relations with all, maintain good contacts, you must be a good listener, and your heart must always be open, while at the same time you must have a very cool head and you must find common ground in order to achieve peace after all.

You know the proverb "He who laughs last, laughs best." I was criticized in Cambodia too, and almost put to shame, while foreign reporters were stating that everything was lost and that Cambodia was heading toward disaster. However, in the end, we were right and not the reporters who expected a disaster in the form of the derailment of the elections that we had organized. If you do not have confidence and optimism, you cannot achieve anything. I believe that people want peace and a normal life very much, that they will overcome the lack of understanding and that a way will be found to achieve a peaceful coexistence. Now there is a deep gap and people are bitter, especially the people who were expelled. We must express our solidarity with them and continue to search for a solution.

If the people do eventually return to their homes, we must be sure that they will stay there permanently, with no threats or fear, without the danger that they may step on a mine somewhere.... If the contact group peace plan is accepted in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it will take a lot of effort to implement it. When there is peace in Bosnia, there will be peace in Croatia too. However, at the same time, we must work on such a solution in Croatia too. If the sides in Bosnia accept the plan, it will take two years to implement it.

I am very persistent, I do not give up easily. I think I have been working on the right thing, and that I have gotten people to cooperate with me. I am always on the side of the suffering.

Hurd and Juppe Disappointed

[VECERNJI LIST] What is your opinion of the contact group peace plan? Do you think it can be applied in practice?

[Akashi] It seems to me that Ministers Hurd and Juppe were somewhat disappointed, especially after the talks at Pale. We will see what the final outcome is on 19 July, when all the sides will declare themselves. The international community has already started making preparations for the implementation of the plan.

[VECERNJI LIST] Let us go back to Croatia. What if the Croatian Parliament decides to deny the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate?

[Akashi] We are not in Croatia against the will of your people and your government. Our stay here is the result of the agreement between us and the government. We will stay in Croatia for as long as you in Croatia deem it necessary. We have also been making great personal sacrifices trying to find the solution to the conflict.

If the conflict is not resolved, it could spread to the entire Balkans and Eastern Europe. Each conflict, regardless of where it breaks out, is a threat to world peace, and it is therefore in the interest of the international community to resolve each conflict. UNPROFOR does not decide about its mandate, but the Security Council. It is up to your government to decide what to do with the parliamentary decision. Sometimes, even the president must become involved in this gap and make his own decision. We are not here forever, we have not "conserved" the situation.... I am a fighter for a dynamic action of the United Nations.

One Should Be Patient With Milosevic

[VECERNJI LIST] Do you think it is possible to find a solution to the crisis by negotiating with people like Martic, Milosevic, and Karadzic?

[Akashi] They are very different people. I know each of them well, and I think that, with a great amount of patience, it is possible to negotiate with them. We international negotiators start from the assumption that we can bring the conflicting sides together at a table so that they can find a common interest. This cannot be achieved by force, but by reason and persuasion. Sometimes it is a very slow process from which many frustrations emerge. One must be very persistent and determined. We make the process easier, we are the bridge. You need a bridge to get over to the other side. We say that you can take a horse to water, but you cannot make it drink. There are limitations within which we operate.

People sometimes think the United Nations is omnipotent, that it can resolve everything. When two sides are willing to have something resolved, then the United Nations can find the formula, with the help of which the willingness will be put into action. However, if there is no such willingness, nothing can be done. You can put the music on, but you cannot force people to dance.

Bosnia's Silajdzic Denies Revoking Consent

LD2207194894 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Report on news conference by U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic,

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Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak, and Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Zagreb on 22 July—passages within quoatation marks are recorded]

[Text] The situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina was on the agenda of talks that U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry had with Mate Granic, Gojko Susak, and Haris Silajdzic in Zagreb today.

[Perry, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] "We have just finished a meeting with Minister Granic and Minister Susak. The meeting was very useful. They presented their personal views not only on the situation in Croatia, but also on security issues of Bosnia. Their view on these issues is of great importance as this state is most directly affected by the problem of security.

"I will, upon my return to Washington, convey their views to Christopher and President Clinton. I expressed my view, with which they completely agreed, and that is that we should move in accordance with the peace plan both in Croatia and Bosnia. We should give that a considerable priority as we move in the future.

"A key to this is UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and therefore I firmly belive that its presence needs to be maintained here. Besides the discussion of international monitoring and peacekeeping in this region, we also had talks on bilateral relations between our two nations. In this respect we agreed to establish defense ties, with a particular emphasis on training programs for Croatian commissioned officers and noncommissioned officers in the United States."

[Granic, in English, with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] "Croatia strongly supports the Contact Group proposal, the implementation of the Washington agreement, and the future confederation of the Bosniak Federation and Croatia. President Tudjman is to pay a visit to Mostar on Saturday to attend Mr. Koschnick's inauguration.

"As regards the situation in Croatia, we expect the UNPROFOR mandate to be much more effective, particularly in connection with the protection of our borders, and mutual Croatia-Serbia recognition. Our main goal is the peaceful reintegration of the UN Protected Areas into Croatia's legal system and the process of our admission to the European Union."

[Announcer] In relation to the announcement that Croatian officers will be trained in America, Defense Minister Gojko Susak made a brief statement:

[Susak, in English, with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] "This may be a small goodwill step for the United States, but for Croatia it is a big step."

[Announcer] Bosnia-Hercegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic explained that President Izetbegovic's statement made yesterday in connection with the revocation of the acceptance of the Contact Group peace plan was misinterpreted.

[Silajdzic, in English, with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] "Our yes is still valid. We offered it and it has not been revoked."

[Announcer] Asked a number of questions on what might happen after 30 July if the Bosnian Serbs fail to accept the Contact Group peace plan, William Perry declined to speculate and only replied that first of all that day should be waited for.

Haris Silajdic said that giving in to the Bosnian Serb fresh blackmailing would seriously damage the reputation of the international community, which has so far promised a great deal, but done very little.

RSK Says Croatia Dumping Nuclear Waste

LD2207203194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1808 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, July 22 (TANJUG)—Savo Strbac, the head of an information center in the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said Friday that Croatia was secretly dumping nuclear waste in the region.

Strbac, the president of the non-governmental Veritas Documentation and Information Centre, said in a telephone interview that he had documents suggesting Croatia is storing nuclear waste "in the Papuk Mountains and on Mt. Psunj" about 100 km east of Zagreb.

That area had been predominantly Serb populated before the population was ethnically cleansed by Croatian paramilitary and regular troops starting in 1991. The clearing of the area was the first case of mass ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia. The area borders on the independent republic of Serb Krajina. Serbs in Croatia declared independence in the Krajina region in 1991 after Croatia seceded from the former Yugoslavia and removed Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution.

"Not only nuclear waste from Croatia, but waste mostly from Germany and some other Western European countries" is stored in the region, said Strbac. He said that fact might account for the silence of the international community on the issue. Strbac said he was disturbed by the "silence on the part of the United Nations," whose experts he said had failed to meet their duty to investigate. Strbac said a U.N. Security Council commission that ten months ago set out to conduct an aerial survey on pollution in the region had failed to release any findings.

Strbac said Italy, Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland had been informed about the nuclear waste problem at the meeting of the Hexagonal Group in Hungary two years ago.

Krajina's Martic on Resuming Talks With Croatia

LD2407145594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 24 Jul 94

[Text] Kragujevac, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—We are extremely interested in resuming talks on economic

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relations, and in the third phase [as received] also on political relations, for we want to resolve all issues with the Republic of Croatia peacefully, Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], told Kragujevac Radio's "Hallmark of the Time" program today.

"The venue is not the issue for us, we are offering any location in the RSK and are willing to hold the talks without journalists from either side. What is important is that the talks will be beneficial to both sides," he stressed.

According to Martic, the Croatian authorities are preoccupied with an incredible hatred toward the Serb people; they want to surround their people with tension and are ready to choose the war option even if it means sacrificing their own people.

"I think common sense will prevail and Croatia will give up the war option," Martic said in conclusion.

Government Revokes Status of 1,030 Refugees

LD2207210494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] Twenty three Bosnia-Herzegovina refugees today left the Borozija refugee camp near Savudrija in Istria; 15 of them have found accommodation at the Kamenja refugee center in Pula, while eight are returning to Kakanj, the Istrian regional office for refugees reports.

Two hundred five refugees have so far been moved out of Borozija, but 1,100 are still refusing to be moved out.

The government department for refugees today also decided to revoke the refugee status of 1,030 refugees not wishing to be transferred to Borozija from the Slovene-owned Pineta tourist resort near Novigrad.

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Commentary Views 'Threat' From Neighbors

AU2507093194 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 22 Jul 94 pp 10,11,12

[Commentary by unidentified PULS correspondents: "A Balkan Horror"]

[Text] During his Balkan tour, the head of the Pentagon William Perry stated that Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] "is crucial for stability in the region, and therefore of importance for peace and stability in the world." Let us then forget about the ceremony and let us make a more serious analysis. What is it that can block the "key of stability" in the Balkan rusted lock? We should also take into account the statement of Defense Minister Vlado Popovski that "the Macedonian and the U.S. sides have a common view on the factors that are destabilizing our country." The two views are also close in stating that "there is no direct military threat to Macedonia," that there is an advantage and profit from the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mission, and that the number of the soldier should not be increased.

However, we are free to say that the second part of the common statement does not coincide with the significance of Perry's visit and its timing. Although it is the first official visit to Macedonia by a high ranking U.S. officer, its focus there is the Bosnian ditch; the possible Serbian attitude toward the peace plan. If we take into account that Perry visited all the countries making the so-called sanitary cordon around Serbia, it is more than clear that, depending on the development of events in the following weeks, the statement regarding the number of the U.S. soldiers can be altered. Logic leads to the thought that of the three alternatives on possible actions that can be undertaken by the world against the uncooperative and militant Serbs—the military involvement of NATO, the lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia, and tougher economic sanctions, the third is the most probable. In such a case, Macedonia, which is of vital interest for the survival of Serbia, will be strongly affected, both if it does not consistently implement the sanctions, and if it does implement them. In the first case, it will be strongly castigated by the world community, and it will run the risk of being placed among the wretched. In the second case, raging reactions from the north are probable. In both cases, the foreign monitoring must be increased.

In the part of Popovski's statement that says that there is a common view on the factors of destabilization, we suppose that Bulgaria was also included. All assessments indicate a possible freezing of its relations with Macedonia in the fall. Greece is another constant. In any case, the key factor for stability in the region, as we have concluded so many times before, is living in these explosive surroundings, cherished by the extreme care of Europe and the world for its peace, while in reality nobody is assisting in its survival and consolidation at all. Although everyone is speaking loudly about the threat to peace, the Europeans are not considering the probable catastrophic visions of Macedonia that are very close to Hieronimus Bosch's political statements. Nevertheless, the "efforts" to doing nothing concrete to help it are evident. Why? Because it is obvious that there are two kinds of thinking on the political scene. One is what we mentioned earlier, that is the Greek attitude, which has been dragging since Macedonia declared its wish for independence—from which followed an assessment that our state cannot survive on its own and that an independent Macedonian state is an additional destabilizing factor in the Balkans—this was actually an intelligence report by the leader of the consortium for a protectorate in the Vardar valley, Jilliene Bertain—"It is not worth investing in a country that does not have the potential to survive as an independent country," advising us to join one of our neighbors. Although we can easily find out who ordered such a report, and also the background of the idea, it is a fact that Zbiegnev Bzezhinsky, in his study on the Balkan situation and its development, did not consider Macedonia; it was treated as if it was non-existant, it was not taken into account, while Serbia and Montenegro were treated as black holes. On the economic front, even George Soros did not dare speak about Macedonia in his recent interview for BORBA, although he pretends to be a kind of a Macedonian lobbyist, and thus we get the impression that the world is still divided between those who think that there can or cannot be an independent Macedonia.

As a matter of fact, our country was left outside the CSCE (because of Greece), diplomatic relations were not established between Macedonia and the United States, Russia, and a whole range of other countries (again because of Greece), the economic war was legalized in the European Court of Justice (because of Greece), Macedonia has not even been payed the minimum compensation for at least a part of the damages it suffered because of the sanctions against Serbia (because the world does not have any feelings), there has been experimentation with the internal stability of the Macedonian state in relation to the national minorities (because of all the neighbors), and there have even been independent, but ordered, excursions of people like Ivan Lebamov, who has resurrected the Macedonian Patriotic organization in the United States—all this shows how events are expected to occur, reveals the interference and intermingled concepts of the "strategists," and shows that the "visions" and the interests of the world's vagabonds are concentrated in various lobbies in this shaky region.

Serbia

Without intending to give any priority to the importance of Jezdimir Vasiljevic (former head of the Serbian Intelligence Service), we would like to point to his latest interview for SRPSKA REC in which he reveals his ties with arms smuggling in the Balkans (Jovo Opacic and his son are operating through Bulgaria and have their companies registered in Cyprus, while Opacic is a former

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chief of the Serbian Intelligence Service) and reveals the roads for money laundering (again across Bulgaria and Cyprus). Thus, he reveals the idea for the creation of a Christian Orthodox community that Macedonia would be forced to join, whether it likes it or not, because, as he pointed out, "The turkey does not want to go to a wedding, but they will force it to and carry it on their shoulders. It is possible to make such a union if the great bosses agree on that and if it is in their interest."

Regarding Serbia, it can be considered a potential threat to Macedonia, because of the following points: If the sanctions are toughened, Serbia will be very angry because one of its channels for survival would be then interrupted. We can then expect more frequent attacks on our territory, tension in relations with the Serbian Orthodox Church, and a revitalization of Serbian radicalism in Macedonia that will provoke various incidents, Albanian- Macedonian incidents, in regions that feel endangered by the Albanian majority and are ready to ask for brotherly help from the outside. The Skopje Refinery might be also attacked. In a concrete sense, we cannot be sure what the Serbian reply will be if Milosevic is pushed to a hopeless position. Although the presence of the U.S. factor in Macedonia represents a serious obstacle for him, one must know that Milosevic has proven to be a good gambler in the game of postponing and buying time. He backs his strategy by obstructing the international community in solving the Balkan crisis regarding the different interests and controversies, and the absence of post-Cold War mechanisms. The Bosnian crisis is proof that he is making allies with the passing of time by relying on other conflicts. The world is slow in responding to this. Looking from this perspective, considering the visit and the contents of the meeting of the head of the Pentagon with the Macedonian leadership, it is very clear to Milosevic that Serbia is on the eve of becoming a real black hole in Europe. In order to prevent this, he is, perhaps, somewhere in his mind, planning to expand the war—which, later, no one will remember who started it and why, and after which the countries and their interests will be completely divided.

Bulgaria

There are strong political turbulences with our eastern neighbor. We do not know if the Macedonian-U.S. discussions included Bulgaria as a possible destabilizing factor for Macedonia, however reality indicates that we should bear in mind the situation in that country. The internal instability emerges from the ruling of two opposite, let us call them groups of different interests: One is headed by the strong military officers' lobby, which feels it has been marginalized and left without any power, and accompanied by Former President Todor Zhivkov's structure and the workers in the military industry, trying to reestablish the old order, while the other is looking for the European road, and yet, at least as far as relations in the Balkans are concerned, cannot free itself from its earlier errors. Perhaps the reason for this is the ineptitude of its voting body in giving up its own illusions gained during the long decades of training politicians and historians. In this internal struggle, alongside the absence of an answer to the economic difficulties that are causing social problems, Macedonia serves as a powerful weapon for "settling things down." The methods used for the destabilization of Macedonia are historically unjustified and inconsistent for the new situation: The Macedonian self-awareness is allegedly something that has been manipulated and that is why the Bulgarians are unpleasantly surprised by the Macedonian "ingratitude," that is it resistance. However, counting on the fragile Macedonian self-awareness, they are also counting on the divisions between the Macedonians, and, by giving money to those who think that the "you should help the one who helps you," they are giving logistical support to people like Lebanov who, unlike Galev, Nedelkovski, and some others, can at least speak nicely (intelligently) in a Bulgarian dialect. The threat of closing the border may represent a strong weapon for this Bulgarian strategy. The precedent set when Europe allowed Greece to close the border may encourage Bulgaria to undertake a similar step, but it is still unlikely that it will do it openly, because the Bulgarian and Greek positions in the world are not the same and because, in such a case, Bulgaria could have Europe on its neck. They can count more on the hot-cold option: narrow bottlenecks, slow transport, problems with transport permits, and so on. As we have been informed, only two or three companies are now getting permits for the transit of goods across Bulgarian territory each day, and we can expect that such permits and advantages will be given to companies that support the Bulgarian policy or companies in which Bulgaria has invested money.

Albania

The world agrees that Albania needs urgent help if we want a promotion and development of democratic processes accompanied by a general transformation of this country. The Albanian political leadership and the relationship of the forces in the country indicate that the Balkan recipe is preferred when there is no answer or strength to solve actual problems. The idea of all Albanians living in one country is not at all naive. At times it is silenced, at other times strengthened—depending on the internal problems. After the meeting between [Albanian President Sali] Berisha and Gligorov, relations between the two countries were normalized briefly.

Now the interpellation against Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi, accusing him of leading a fragile policy in this area, has been revitalized. This game was also joined by the decision of the annual assembly of the Democratic League of Kosovo and Ibrahim Rugova that produced a declaration with clear goals for unification. We can here detect the possible behavior of some political circles of Albanians in Macedonia who are suffering political hangovers following the end of the numbers game on which they had founded their platforms. Namely, because of the exact data from the census, verified by Europe, their political goal must be altered:

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from a program to transform the Albanian nationality into a constitutive people, it has to be transformed into a party of national minority. It is a painful and difficult step and there are attempts to stop it.

Greece

We have said and written everything about Greece. There are no new events except for new ministerial names who will inform us about the unaltered Greek stances. As is, for instance, the poor Karaidiotis [name as published] who said at the informal ministerial meeting, complaining about the new German chairman, that he "is not yet even in his seat and has already started putting pressure on Greece," and the German refusal to see that, regarding the situation in the negotiations (probably also in the region), it is Skopje that should be blamed.

However, Greece is more often in the focus of the Balkan analysts as a country whose policy toward the neighbors is one of great risk and hostility. The Greek xenophobia, spiced with arrogance and insolence, causes permanent tensions in relations with Ankara and Tirana. The only status quo is with Bulgaria because of the Greek interest in that country and because of the abundant help that reaches the Serbian friends via Bulgaria. This summer, Greece also joined the countries in which terrorism is practised. The phantom organization "17 November" is again on the scene, and because of the way it acts, because of its efficiency, but also because of its timing, there are possibilities for speculation—who does it really belong to? Greece has also been faced with a difficult economic crisis. The political one has been going on for some time. The Greek public wishes fresh political ideas because it is tired of the impotence of the two old and powerful parties, and Andonis Samaras and his "spring" are obviously not an adequate replacement. This fall, [Prime Minister Andreas] Papandreou's government will have to cope with the long-announced reforms. The annual inflation of 60 percent looks like increasing and the European partners are warning that the help for Greece can be frozen if there are no results by the end of the year—this has tempted Papandreou to cheat his own people by stirring up internal court processes and revealing scandals related to his adversaries from New Democracy, while at other times he proclaims that Skopje, Ankara, Tirana, and Bonn are its foreign enemies.

Macedonia

Nevertheless, responsibility for the stability of Macedonia is carried by Macedonia itself. Faced with an impossible situation, pressed from all four sides, it has constructed a kind of a survival policy. The recipe for equal distance, good neighborly relations, and a policy without strong teeth based on the actual relations and regional forces, provokes rage in the neighbors. They cannot find a reason for the alleged destabilizing role of Macedonia, but are looking inside Macedonia to find allies that cannot realize their party programs. We have already written everything about the groups inside the country that are receiving material and political support from outside. Muhamed Halili said something about those who are trying hard to accomplish their programs saying that his parliamentary group "cannot accept elections with discriminatory laws," referring to the proposal of the government. There is now the dilemma of what will happen in the fall. Will anyone in the leadership try to do something radical, being unable to face reality, or is it not just another bad assessment that everyone can vote as he pleases because of the old law, regardless of whether he is a Macedonian citizen or not?

As far as the other group of radicals is concerned—the Macedonian, everything seems to be regular. Their intentions have been revealed in what Ljupco Georgievski stated in his 75-minute-long expose in which he blamed the government for failing to make a friend of any of the neighbors. Beside using the dissatisfaction of the local citizens' classes, there is a serious announcement that a revolutionary way will be followed to take power, because the present government is not following a legal course. The neighbors can look for sub-variants between these two opinions and for other ways that will help them accomplish their own goals (opposed and yet united in their wish to destroy Macedonia). Therefore, the evaluation that there is no direct threat from the outside may be correct, and yet Macedonian instability is stimulated—because the internal sensitivity and fragility is the factor number one for achieving such a goal.

Foreign Minister Crvenkovski Leaves for Egypt

LD2507141094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 25 Jul 94

[Text] Skopje, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski today left on an official visit to Egypt. He is expected to discuss with Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Muhammad Musa bilateral cooperation between the two states and a number of other international issues. Crvenkovski is also expected to meet with other Egyptian top officials as well as representatives of the Arab League.

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Federal

Jovanovic, Koljevic Comment on Bosnian Peace Plan

AU2307150494 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 94

[Text] Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic was today a guest in Belgrade Radio 1's program From the Spot. Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serbian Republic, also participated in this program. They emphasized, among other things, the inevitability of the continuation of the peace process and improvements to the peace plan that was offered by the so-called contact group in order to establish peace as soon as possible. One of the questions addressed to Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic was: What will the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia do in the days ahead?

[Begin Jovanovic recording] We will continue to do what we have been doing so far, namely fight for the equal treatment of Serbs in Bosnia and Yugoslavia in the peace process. We will be pointing out that without such a treatment there can be no real peace. A temporary solution, which others could call peace, could be found, but this would not be a just and lasting solution.

Second, we will continue to stress that a reasonable compromise, which we are striving for, and which the Serbs in Bosnia are ready to accept, does not mean neglecting or ignoring some [word indistinct] vital interests. There is enough room in the Bosnian crisis to protect the vital interests of all three nations. It is not correct that this is impossible and that the only path is one to the detriment of the Serbian people in Bosnia. Everyone involved this crisis should approach the crisis with the same impartial views and the same, equal wish to treat objectively all the elements and (?accept) an objective and balanced peace solution.

We will also continue to convince our foreign collocutors that the declaration [of the Bosnian Serbs] is not what it is being presented as, namely a rejection or setting of conditions. On the contrary, it represents a special kind of positive response to the plan as a foundation. Drawing attention to other elements must not be interpreted as condition-setting or a negative response. On the contrary, timely stressing of the importance of solving some elements is a very constructive contribution and effort. This should be more welcomed than perceived as an evil.

As I said, it is important that the Serbs in Bosnia, in the continuation of their contacts and activities, strengthen, explain, and make more convincing their essentially positive answer. I think that this should not be so difficult to do, because this indeed does not demand some excessive effort, but flexibility and wide negotiating room. Once this is accomplished, it will be easy to find definitions and expressions that are acceptable to all. [end recording]

As we have said, Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serbian Republic, also took part in Belgrade Radio 1's program "From the Spot." He expressed his expectations from the continuation of peace talks in Moscow and Geneva.

[Begin Koljevic recording] I think that it is very important indeed for the representatives of the international community to inform themselves. They are not sufficiently informed about what the Serbian side can accept as compromise without sacrificing its vital interests. Second, my belief is that the negotiations are acceptable, but diktat is not. I believe that this is what the majority of Serbs think. [end recording]

Left-Wing Parties Urge Serbs To Accept Plan

AU2307180494 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 94

[Text] A founding convention of the Yugoslav left-wing parties was held in Belgrade today. The Left was joined by 22 political parties and movements of left-orientation from all over the country. In the program declaration, the Yugoslav left determined as its theoretical basis every thought in philosophy, science, arts, and religion that contributes to the liberation of man from poverty, exploitation, humiliation, and ignorance.

The Yugoslav Left is striving for the end of the war and the cooperation of all Yugoslav and other peoples that live in that region.

At a news conference, Mirjana Markovic, member of the Initiative Committee, said: I hope that the Serbs from Bosnia and all citizens of Yugoslavia will support the peace package offered by the international community. This is the only way out for both the Serbs in Bosnia and all peoples who are engaged in the war.

President Lilic Leaves for Talks in Libya

LD2407143294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 24 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—FRY President Zoran Lilic left for the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah today on an official and friendly visit at the invitation of Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi.

President Lilic will be staying in Libya between 25 and 27 July and is to have talks with his host Col. al-Qadhdhafi and all other top Libyan officials. Talks between the two heads of state and their associates will focus on issues of bilateral cooperation, the peaceful resolution of the crisis on the territory of the former SFRY, particularly ways of peaceful resolution of the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and other current issues of international relations.

President Lilic is accompanied by Federal Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic and Federal Foreign Affairs Minister Vladislav Jovanovic. President Lilic was seen

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off by top Yugoslav state and army officials and Ramadan Muhammad Almani, the Libyan charge d'affaires.

Marjanovic: National Bank Not To Finance Deficit

LD2407175494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 24 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—The fifty-year-old practice of financing the budgetary deficit from the primary money issue is over, which means that the state will no longer address the National Bank of Yugoslavia asking it to finance its expenditures, Serbian Prime Minister Marjanovic stated at the Economic Institute today.

In a press statement marking the six months of the implementation of the national economic recovery program, Marjanovic stressed that not only a better living standard was in sight, but good prospects for the future.

To substantiate this optimism the prime minister quoted figures on the rise in production, which has been doubled compared with January, the increased level of fiscal discipline, the reform of the tax system, and the curbed public spending.

"In the coming months we are facing a struggle for maintaining the rise in production, further stabilization of economy, drawing up state social welfare programs. However, the hardest problem facing the government is the cadre, organizational, technological and ownership restructuring of big industrial systems," Marjanovic said.

"Yugoslavia has preserved these industrial giants, unlike a majority of east European countries, as they are the basis to set the economy in motion once the sanctions have been alleviated or lifted," the prime minister believes. [passage omitted]

Dragoslav Avramovic cited official statistics at the Economic Institute to show that the prices were perfectly stable. According to official statistics the prices today are the same as they were on 24 January, six months ago when the program was launched. This means that the inflation is zero!

Explaining that the stabilization stage is behind us, Avramovic pointed out the positive results achieved so far—stable prices as never before in the last 50 years, reduction of the state deficit from the planned 800 million dollars to 600 million dollars, 100 percent rise in production since January and the final separation between the state and the central bank as far as the financing of the budget from the primary money issue is concerned. [passage omitted]

In case the country comes under a total embargo, this would bring about a complete collapse of the monetary system and a transition to barter. "However we have goods and our own production of gold which always represents a way out. That is why I support goods and gold backing for our currency so that foreign currency is not the only base for our monetary system," Avramovic said.

We are just about to witness a positive swing in investments which many people have doubts about", the governor said. However, every good project has to find an investor either in the country or abroad, Avramovic believes.

There are already some investors interested in financing the upcoming projects, Avramovic said, citing the overhaul of electric power plants, the modernization of railway lines, and the renewal of farming machinery.

"People are ready to invest money in this", the governor said explaining that program packages for big enterprises will be prepared, necessary resources assessed and then, with the assistance from some foreign audit company and guarantees provided by the National Bank of Yugoslavia, shares will be issued and put on the capital market.

This will lead to structural changes, but not through the accelerated privatization, which I call de-possessiveness or the sale of companies, but through attracting fresh capital, professor Avramovic explained.

According to him, legal security is sufficient for the clever people to start doing business.

In conclusion professor Avramovic singled out as the key problems to be resolved in the near future law rental fees and an archaic system of taxation.

Bank Begins Taking Old Dinar Out of Circulation

LD2207122794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1135 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, July 22 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Central Bank begins Friday to take out of circulation the old dinar, which has not been minted since January. The old dinar has coexisted for six months with a new, convertible, 'super' dinar which was launched with the inauguration of an economic and monetary recovery programme on January 24 in an effort to combat an inflation of 313 million percent. The new dinar, fetching 12,000,000 old dinars, has been introduced in an effort to save the economy from total collapse in conditions of international blockade. It has full gold and hard currency backing and is at parity with the Deutsche mark.

The Yugoslav Government ruled Thursday to withdraw the old dinar from circulation over the next month on the basis of the Central Bank's estimate that its further maintenance would create problems in the implementation of the monetary and economic recovery programme. Commercial bank reports this week indicate a steadily growing demand for old dinars because of a shortage of cash in circulation in the past month.

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The new dinar is being minted under the watchful eye of the Central Bank, striving to preempt a revival of the inflation, which stands at 0.2 percent after six months of the progamme.

Economic Institute Presents Economic Indicators

LD2407162594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1234 GMT 24 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—In the six months of the implementation of the Program of Monetary Reconstruction and Strategy of Economic Recovery, the results achieved surpass practically all the well-known recovery programs in the world.

The Economic Institute in Belgrade, a base where Yugoslav economic experts gathered around the creator of this original programme, Dragoslav Avramovic, today presented the key indicators of the program's success.

The gross national product [GNP] in the country amounts to 7.9 billion dinars. The public revenue of 3.274 billion dinars is only 310 million dinars lower than the public expenditure of 3.584 billion.

Expenditure now amounts to 45.3 percent of the GNP, compared to 70 percent when the program was launched. The fiscal deficit of 310 million dinars is just 3.9 percent of GNP. The dinar will not be financed any more by the Yugoslav National Bank, but at money markets and in other ways used by other countries.

The price index in the last week of the program's implementation shows no percentage increase over that for the first week, which means that prices are now absolutely stable.

The five-month balance of payments in the country shows a surplus of 250 million dinars, while industrial production has doubled since the program was introduced.

Yugoslavs have a stable currency today, salaries are on the increase, and great investments are to be made in the power system, the machine production industry, and railroads, with a number of investors expressing interest.

Professor Avramovic also stresses the mood among the people and a firm decision by the Yugoslav National Bank and the federal and republican governments to put an end to the half century-long financing of the state deficit from the central bank's coffers.

The team of experts say that most of the 37 known recovery programs in the world have achieved only initial successes, and few have gained results which open up lasting opportunities, as the Yugoslav one has.

Milosevic's Wife Defends Yugoslav System

94BA0353A Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun-8 Jul 94 pp 10-11

[Article by Mira Markovic: "Nobel Prize for Cynicism"]

[Text] *Wasn't Yugoslavia the first country in the world that opened the door to everything liberating, regardless of where it came from, Frankfurt or Beijing? Weren't we in Yugoslavia accused of revisionism because of such openness?*

16 June

When I was in Sofia a few days ago, I received public support in many circles for the idea of closer ties among Balkan peoples, a sort of community among them in the future. That support was sincere, and it naturally delighted me. Commenting on that kind of future, seeking arguments for it, among both Yugoslav and Bulgarian interlocutors, I heard words about mutual interests as the basis for that kind of common future.

In a season of seeking and finding differences among Balkan peoples, which is reaching its culmination in the tragedy of the Yugoslav peoples, any word about similarity is like a precious stone. After several long years of the cult of differences that reigns in the area of the former Yugoslavia, this was the first time that I had heard a conversation focused on the area of similarity.

All the relevant interests are being identified and cited in support of such a possibility—economic above all, naturally, but also others, cultural, and even political. And really, both goods and transportation, tourism and production, and commerce between these two countries, but also the other neighboring countries, cannot be realized without that cooperation, just as the culture of each of these countries is developed with the historical and intellectual stimulus that comes to it from its closest neighbors, above all. Ultimately, in the range of all interests, political interest also constitutes one of the most important ones—an equal position for the Balkan countries with the other European countries, as well as peaceful and stable development, can only be achieved when they themselves have good relations with each other, close, and interested in being more and more so in time.

Those economic, cultural, and political interests of the Balkan peoples really are an undoubtedly great and crucial factor in their rapprochement and alliance. They are not the only ones, however. In addition to interests, ideals could be crucial as well, because relations among people do not function solely on the basis of interests, although interests usually have crucial significance in those relations. Even among primitive people, in undeveloped human communities and a long time ago, there was an awareness, although naturally confused, about something beautiful, distant, which perhaps does not affect specific people and their lives, but does affect people in general and affects life in general.

Developing over time, both man and society have developed their awareness of values, ideals, with an attempt for those ideals not to be always confronting and opposing interests. On the contrary, they can be parallel, equal, perhaps sometimes even complementary.

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And thus, just as the individual, in all his relations with other people, is often also guided by certain values, ideals, and not just by interests, human communities, societies, also decide on their choices in accordance with ideals, and not just current and practical interests.

For the Balkan peoples, those ideals could be, for example, equality of all peoples and individuals, the freedom of every individual, and technological and cultural welfare. And those ideas, by their nature, require great and united efforts by many communities, entire societies. They cannot be realized in a municipality, firm, or family. They often cannot even be realized within one state, because they are realized only when they are realized for all people. That is why they are global, and that is why they have to do with civilization.

Ties among people and peoples, accordingly, as one of the dimensions of their mutual relations, does not have to be, but can be, motivated only by interests, especially not only the everyday and quite pragmatic interests, no matter how crucial they are for people's everyday lives. Those ties should and must be motivated as well by values, ideals that do not have to do with everyday expediency, and which are sometimes even opposed to it. But they represent a lasting and universal human value.

The Serbian and Bulgarian peoples, therefore, should not aspire to coexistence just because one has a well-developed agriculture, and the other has the production of agricultural machinery, or because Central Europe's shortest route to the Middle East goes through both countries, or just because at one time both peoples accepted the same religion and church, or just because they write in the Cyrillic script and speak languages so similar that if necessary they can come to an agreement even without an interpreter, or just because many of their social and psychological characteristics are similar, if not identical, or just because in one season lemons are cheaper in Sofia than in Belgrade, and in another season there are T-shirts in Belgrade that are not available in Sofia....

They should also seek coexistence because through joint efforts they will contribute sooner to having the Balkan peoples be equal with other European peoples (which they are not now), and through those joint efforts, they will contribute to attempting a society in which people would live better—more justly and freely than in the past.

Consequently, not just for the sake of the lemons that we need for this weekend, not just for the sake of the T-shirts that we need for this summer, but rather because of the equality and freedom that everyone needs, always. Interests and ideals, harmonious or not, here in the Balkans and everywhere in the world, should be an equal motive for peoples and individuals in deciding on their mutual relations. Without an awareness of the connection between today and tomorrow, tomorrow cannot be happy, and today is difficult and passes quickly, and night falls soon.

That is why I am somewhat bothered by interests as almost a cult argument in all conversations regarding relationships among peoples, states, and other small communities. I constantly ask, "What about ideals?" The glorification of interests as the universal, unquestionable, and almost sacred answer to all dilemmas that peoples and individuals have, which, when identified and fulfilled, solve all man's needs and justify all his steps, is nevertheless an insufficiently solid basis for prosperity. The chances for prosperity are also determined, in addition to interests, by that great enthusiasm, those eternal dreams, without which man would never have stirred from his first fire. It fulfilled his immediate interest—heating and feeding himself. Even from above that first fire, however, the first dreams also soared toward the stars. Man was not led to the road that he is traveling today by the cold, but rather by warming himself, the aspiration for a fire that is eternal.

18 June

One well-intentioned foreigner, somewhat in confidence, asked me a few days ago: "Why is the opposition in Yugoslavia accusing the authorities of Bolshevism, and is there a danger of Bolshevism in Yugoslavia?" I patiently explained to him one fine day, at lunch in a restaurant with a lot of greenery and beautiful watercolors, that it did not exist. I removed any doubt that he had about Yugoslav Bolshevism. That day—it was already afternoon—he parted from me convinced that there was no danger of Bolshevism in Belgrade. The fact that I persuaded him that we are not a Bolshevist state, however, is poor comfort to us in Yugoslavia, and is not any relief at all.

That is because if there is a danger of such an impression among the international community, and if we naturally want to remove it, then the refutation and the formation of an objective picture of Yugoslavia cannot take place on the micro level, individually. A large, organized effort at the level of society as a whole is needed for that new, objective picture of Yugoslavia. Naturally, I do not mean by this that any of us is missing such a chance individually, when he has an opportunity to respond, because society as a whole has not planned, organized, and synchronized all efforts for such an activity. The fate of that activity, however, is not in the hands of individuals, no matter how well-intentioned, competent, and of course convincing they are.

And as far as a possible Bolshevist system in Yugoslavia is concerned, it is not even difficult at all to refute it here. Before that refutation, however, a spontaneous question somehow arises: Isn't it implied within the framework of the enormous democratic efforts that the modern world advocates so much that every people lives in the social system that it wants to live in, and that each state is organized the way it wants to be?—with the indisputable assumption, of course, that the choice of that people and that state does not threaten the interests of other peoples and other states. Accordingly, although Bolshevism is

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Russia's past, if someone is crazy about living in the past, and moreover someone else's past, perhaps he should be warned about the consequences of that craziness, and there is the end of the international community's democratic activity with respect to its good intentions toward individual peoples. After all, in the modern world there are many states and societies that are organized in a way that belongs to the past. There is an empire in Asia, several kingdoms in Europe, several religious states in the world.... The participants in and followers of the great French Revolution thought that through it monarchy had disappeared forever, and that a republic had been introduced into the life of the planet. Monarchies persist even today, however, two full centuries later. And naturally, throughout Africa, Asia, and South America there are also prefeudal societies, certain forms of colonial slavery, and so forth.

The right of every people to choose its social system is one of the indisputable legacies of all the big and small revolutions that have been carried out from the 18th century to this day. If it is not, then people should not say that it is. If the systems that people will live in on our planet at the end of the 20th century are determined in a certain capital that considers itself the center of civilization, then that center should take into account the others' right to rebel.

I hope, however, that such a capital does not exist, and that every people can choose its own system in which it will live, and that in making that choice it will have the support of others, even though their choices are different. This sentence is not cynical, nor is it utopian; it is insufficiently realistic, but it is quite futuristic.

As far as the Yugoslav choice is concerned, it is oriented toward a civil society—admittedly, in a rather initial form, with dominant characteristics of the original accumulation of capital. In any case, Yugoslav society is not socialist, and certainly not Bolshevist. All forms of property were present in it even earlier, during the period of socialism, and now they have become equal, with a strong tendency toward further privatization, and with a tendency for private property to become dominant. The multiparty system has been functioning for four years now. The right-wing opposition and the leading party are approximately equally represented in the Assembly. On three occasions already, the communists have won so few votes in the elections that they do not even have a single deputy in the Assembly. All material and intellectual achievements accomplished in previous socialist development are being challenged in public life. Even leftist theoretical thought itself has been questioned. The extent of the break with the left in theory and practice is greater than in modern developed civil societies. Right-wing political thought and the right wing in general have predominant influence upon the creation of the economy, the political system, education, science, and art. The Socialist Party itself, both in Serbia and in Montenegro, is very similar to some socialist parties in Europe, whose political platforms are not aimed at achieving a socialist society, but rather at socializing the civil society. Anyone who can declare such a society to be Bolshevist deserves a Nobel Prize for cynicism.

After all, a "Bolshevist system" never even existed in Yugoslavia. Immediately after the liberation, i.e., immediately after the end of World War II, right at the beginning of the 1950's, Yugoslavia committed itself to a social system that was considerably—not to say radically—different from the social systems in East Europe. It was a dynamic socialism with an already developed market, direct democracy, very open, with a strongly developed competitive spirit with respect to both West and East. If it had been lucky, today that system would have been well on the way toward a society that I think will perhaps be the imminent future of humanity—integrated experiences of the East and West, identification of the best from the left and the right....

Wasn't Yugoslavia the first country in the world that tried to open its doors to everything emancipating and liberating, regardless of where it came from—Frankfurt or Beijing, Sartre or Rosa Luxembourg, the Sorbonne or our university, Lusaka or Oslo? Because of that flexibility and openness, weren't we in Yugoslavia accused of revisionism by the political center in Moscow as early as the late 1940's? And wasn't it because of that openness and flexibility that the West, as early as the beginning of the 1950's, accepted Yugoslavia as the only socialist country that it had fairly sincere respect for? Perhaps it is exaggerated, but any serious sociological analysis would show that it is not—Yugoslav socialism had more influence in the middle of this century on positive changes in civil society than the entire Eastern socialist bloc. And it will probably never be disputed that we were the biggest inspiration and political and moral support for the countries of the so-called Third World; or perhaps it will be, at a time and in circumstances in which Yugoslavia is being declared a Bolshevist state, even by those who accused us in 1948 of betraying socialism and being involved in a transition to capitalism. Now it somehow turns out that from 1948 to 1990 we in Yugoslavia lived under capitalism, and in 1991 became a Bolshevist state in just two or three weeks. At the same time, the East European countries that lived under that "Bolshevist" system for half a century, suddenly in that same year 1991, also in two or three weeks, have become civil and democratic states.

This morning, instead of being a DUGA correspondent from my house in Pozarevac, in which a fourth generation is now cherishing the cult of love for its country and the cult of love for people in general, perhaps it would be better if this morning I were a correspondent from Yugoslavia for some newspaper in that capital that considers itself the center of the world. If decisions really are made there on the fate of the world, and thus also the fate of my country, and if the people there really are well-intentioned and democratic, as they say they are, perhaps I could contribute at least a little to the truth if

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they listened to me, that is, read me. The chances are poor, however, virtually nil.

P.S. The truth that I would like to contribute is not part of the stock of the so-called "truth about Serbia" and the so-called "truth about the Serbs." The truth that I am thinking of has to do with Yugoslav society and the people who live in it. As far as the "truth about the Serbs" is concerned, it is very often represented throughout the world by the kind of individuals of whom I think when I listen to them, or even when I just see them (and don't listen to them)—if the "world" is against us, it is not surprising. Listening to them and watching them, even I, a Serbian woman, would not be on my own side.

P.P.S. And as far as Bolshevism is concerned, after the time and area in which it appeared, it did not continue to live. Not in a genuine form, of course. It is a phenomenon that occurred at one time and in one area, and after all, remained there. Officially received Bolshevism, its nonhistorical introduction into another area and at a later time, made it ridiculous and ugly, a caricature.

After all, any conflict with development and history appears ridiculous and ugly and like a caricature. The subsequent introduction into a society of a system, institutions, relationships, that have ended their historical life, an attempt to have them reincarnated, can at best be an expression of a layman's error. In the worst case, however, which is more frequent, what lies behind that reincarnation of the past is a violent and primitive awareness that wants to preserve the past, because it cannot live in the new world, and especially because it cannot dominate it.

One of the secrets of human, individual, and social life is how that primitive and violent awareness has the ability to mislead people and entire peoples, to lead them astray along the wrong roads, from which it is difficult and slow to return. On those wrong roads, people lose time and energy for the right roads, but it appears that on those wrong roads they do not gain the experience, do not learn the lesson that should protect them.

There remains a hope that in time humanity will waste less time, less often, on wrong roads, but it has not yet learned to avoid them.

East Europe lived on a wrong raod for half a century. In 1991, it only crossed from one wrong road to another one.

Increased Range of Modified Serb Cannon

94BA0342B Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 94 pp 32-34

[Article by Dr. Miomir V. Kalezic: "Converted M46/86 152-mm Cannon: New Power for Old Giant"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

How Was Conversion Carried Out?

Since one of the basic requirements for converting an M46 130-mm cannon into a 152-mm cannon was to achieve a range of over 35 km, this meant that the ballistic system from a barrel with a length of 45 caliber had to be used. In so doing, understandably, it was necessary to ensure that exchanging the barrel be possible with as little finishing work as possible to the weapon's existing elements and systems (collars on barrels resting on the support slides, the rear, breech mechanisms). The total recoil impulse on the 152/44-mm system is 44 percent greater than on the 130-mm system, which was an unacceptably large load on the M46 gun carriage. Thus, besides minor adjustments in the hydraulic recoil stop, a high-efficiency pneumatic stop from the NORA system is built into the 152-mm barrel, which reduces the loads to a level that ensures certain, safe, and reliable operation of the gun carriage without redesigning and reinforcing its parts.

The changed distribution of mass on the cannon's parts that are movable in the vertical plane required an adjustment of the force in the equalizers for better balance and to conduct the force to the handles of the mechanism for elevation movement in the permitted range.

The change in caliber and ballistics required corresponding changes in the scales of the rangefinder and graticule of the telescopic sight (for direct firing). Converting the 130-mm cannon into a 152-mm weapon with a barrel length of 45 caliber did not alter the total mass of the weapon.

The initial requirements in developing the converted M46/68 152-mm cannon stipulated that the cannon must use ammunition of the NORA system: M84 and M84-GG (with gas generator) fragmentation projectiles and two types of powder charges (full-variable and reduced-variable). In order to achieve the required greater range (35 km), a special so-called super-charge was developed. Since the mass of this charge was significantly greater than the space for storing the powder allowed by the existing cartridge, a new, longer cartridge was developed. Also under way is the development of new fragmentation projectiles of the type ERFB and ERFB-BB and cluster projectiles with antipersonnel bombs and antitank mines, for ranges of up to 40 km.

The high ballistic strength of the system and the need for a lower level of powder gas pressure at the highest allowed temperatures in use required that a new powder be developed that will be more favorable than existing powders in terms of the barrel's service life. This led to the new single-base NCD powders with a low temperature sensitivity (which with corresponding shell dimensions is also used to charge the new family of 100-mm high-performance antitank projectiles).

At the Pinnacle of World Accomplishments

By converting the M46 130-mm cannon into a 152-mm cannon with a barrel length of 45 caliber, a maximum

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range of 35,000 meters has been achieved (with a projectile of the classic aerodynamic shape with a gas generator), which represents an increase of 27 percent over the 130-mm cannon and 23 percent over the 152-mm NORA system. The conditions have been created for achieving a range of 40,000 meters, or 47 percent greater than that of the M46 130-mm cannon. The targeted surface (without moving the weapons) is increased twice over, while the efficiency of the projectiles at the target is more than three times greater (because of the increase in the mass of the shell case and explosive and the use of higher-quality explosives).

Very good accuracy achieved with the Yugoslav M84-GG 152-mm projectile with a gas generator at a range of 35,000 meters, in addition to the exceptionally high operational reliability of the gas generator unit under all conditions of use (in a temperature range from minus 30 degrees Celsius to plus 50 degrees Celsius), place our converted cannon and its ammunition at the pinnacle of world accomplishments in this domain. Converting the 130-mm cannon to a 152-mm weapon with a barrel length of 45 caliber (conversion to a caliber of 155-mm is also possible) does not alter the total mass of the weapon. It is not necessary to retrain personnel to use the converted cannon (except where the new ammunition requires), and the existing logistical elements are preserved. Since the M46 gun carriage is used for the conversion, the result is a practically new weapon at a price that is significantly lower than the price of a new cannon with the same ballistic performance.

Using their own abilities, experience, and knowledge in the field of artillery systems of great ballistic power, Yugoslav experts have breathed new power into an old (but still powerful!) giant, and created from the M46 130-mm cannon a modern M46/86 152-mm weapon which is at the very pinnacle of world solutions in terms of performance.

Serbia

Radical Leader Ejected From Assembly Session

AU2207163894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Report by Srdjan Savic from the Serbian Assembly—recorded]

[Excerpts] At the beginning of the session, the chief of the club of deputies of the Serbian Radical Party Tomislav Nikolic replied to yesterday's report by Information Minister Ratomir Vico, demanding more liberal conditions for the allocation of radio frequencies. Minister Vico explained that the existing law envisages allocation of radio frequencies through a public contest and that one cannot demand introduction of something that already exists.

Chief of the club of deputies of the Democratic Party Zoran Djindjic assessed that Radio and Television Serbia has usurped the monopoly over a network of relay stations in Serbia as well as a monopoly in the allocation of frequencies. [passage omitted]

Deputy of the Socialist Party Borica Gajovic concluded that the proposed law is not in accord with the constitution, that it does not clearly define the position of the commissions appointed by the government, and that it lacks the criteria for the allocation of radio frequencies. At the same time, Borica Gajovic called on the deputies not to allow the Radicals to display their powerlessness, anger, and hatred toward the deputies of the Socialist Party and the president of the republic from the rostrum.

What ensued concerned everything but the proposed law. Tomislav Nikolic in his reply emphasized that the Socialists are using all media to attack and insult the Serbian Radical Party while the Radicals are not even allowed to reply in the assembly. On that occasion Tomislav Nikolic on several occasions insulted Mrs. Mirjana Markovic, wife of the president of the republic, in connection with her articles published in the weekly DUGA. Assembly Speaker Dragan Tomic took away the right of speech from Tomislav Nikolic and when Nikolic refused to leave the rostrum, Tomic ordered a half an hour recess.

After the break, the chief of the club of deputies of the Radicals, without the speaker's permission, went to the rostrum, and thus the assembly speaker again denied Nikolic the right to speak and called a second recess.

The third continuation of the morning session started with Nikolic's remark about unauthorized presence of the members of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs in the hall, to which Tomic replied that these were the members of the assembly's security corps. The assembly speaker warned the head of the Radicals' club of deputies that he was not allowed to speak and that the assembly must ascertain a quorum prior to the continuation of the session. Tomislav Nikolic continued to talk. Henceforth, Assembly Speaker Dragan Tomic proposed that due to disrespect, obstruction, and thwarting of the assembly's work Nikolic be removed from the assembly session. Ninety-two deputies voted in favor of this decision, seven were against, and seven abstained in the voting. The chief of the club of deputies of the Serbian Radical Party persisted on the rostrum and the assembly speaker ordered the third recess.

Radicals Boycott Parliament

LD2207165894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, July 22 (TANJUG)—The Executive Homeland Board of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] has announced that 'in the wake of today's incident in the Serbian Assembly, 60 members of the special police brigade of the Ministry for Internal Affairs launched an assault on the 39 SRS deputies who were sitting on parliamentary benches during a break in the session.' In

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its statement, the SRS stressed that 'the attack was ordered by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic' and demands his resignation. The SRS stressed that its deputies will no longer take part in the work of the People's Assembly of the Republic of Serbia.

Radio: Nikolic 'Walked Out'

AU2207182794 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Report by Jelena Hinic from the Serbian Assembly]

[Excerpts] Shortly before 1800 the deputies of the Serbian Assembly who gathered in the hall were addressed by Assembly Speaker Dragan Tomic. Among other things he announced that the second session of the third extraordinary assembly session will be held on Tuesday, 26 July. [passage omitted]

Addressing the deputies earlier, [head of the club of deputies of the Serbian Radical Party] Tomislav Nikolic on several occasions insulted the president of the republic and his wife as well as the Socialists. Assembly Speaker Dragan Tomic denied Nikolic the right to speak three times and also called a recess on three occasions.

Due to his disrespect for the rules of procedure and obstruction of the assembly's work, Assembly Speaker Tomic proposed that Tomislav Nikolic be denied to speak and removed from the session. A decision about this was passed with a majority—92 deputies were in favor, seven were against, and seven abstained.

During the course of the third recess a scuffle took place in the assembly hall. The assembly security guards were supposed to remove Nikolic, who refused to accept the decision of the parliament and leave the hall. Reporters were not present during this event, however, after 30 minutes Tomislav Nikolic walked out of the hall. Afterward the Radicals held a news conference at which they described the above event as a gross violation by the security and repeated their accusations at the expense of the president of the republic and his wife. [passage omitted]

Resentment Arises Over Newly Arrived Serbs

AU2207123194 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 94 p 3

[Report by Milenko Pesic: "Scratching About for Family Origins"]

[Text] The recent statement by Milenko Novakov, assembly deputy from Kikinda, about colonists being armed liberators who have occupied key positions in the administration, appears to be stirring up bad blood over the question of the relationship between the Serbs from Serbia [Srbijanci] and those from outside Serbia [Srbi] again.

This division of the Serbian people is as old as the history of Serbs in the Balkans itself. Those who adopt the way of thinking characteristic of the Serbian region of Sumadija are will say that the Serbs from Serbia are Serbs, but different from the Serbs from outside Serbia because they are peaceful, diligent and disinclined to rivalry with non-Serbs.

When former Yugoslavia collapsed and the war began, the unsuccessful mobilization in certain parts of Serbia prompted such comments in public as: "The people from Krajina and Montenegro are better fighters for Serbianity than the Serbs from Serbia themselves."

The danger of breaches in the Serbian national body was also discussed at the Second Congress of Serbian Intellectuals. Academician Vasilije Krestic said at the congress that one of the key reasons for the spiritual disintegration of the Serbian people was the strong provincial mentality of parochialism and a primitive narrow-mindedness, manifesting itself through xenophobia toward Serbs from other geographically remote regions. Where did this narrow-mindedness among the Serbs from Serbia that Krestic speaks about, or even a strong dislike for the Serbs from Knin, Montenegrins, or Herzegovina, come from?

Attitudes of the Association of Indigenous Serbs

The presence of ever greater number of police officers speaking the jekavian dialect [of Serbo-Croatian, spoken mainly in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Montenegro] not only in Belgrade, but also in other Serbian towns, reminds many people of 1945 and the role of the 6th Brigade from Lika and the 7th Brigade from Banija [Partisan brigades composed chiefly of Serbs from Croatian regions]. It was then, with Tito's generals storming Dedinje [residential part of Belgrade], that painter and academician Mico Popovic uttered his famous remark. Quoting a word-of-mouth source from western Serbia, Popovic said: "May God damn the oars that rowed them over here!"

In the Association of Indigenous Serbs [AAS] the attitude of deputy Novakov is supported absolutely. They complain that Serbs from outside Serbia have occupied almost all positions, starting with those in the state administration, through management posts in business firms, to directors of prisons. "Those are the people who fought against us in World War I, as is no secret," Vlajko Popovic, chairman of the AAS, points out.

The Association considers the existing administration in Serbia to be non-Serbian, because it recruits police officers from Krajina. "Foreign citizens in our armed forces are nothing other than mercenaries," Popovic categorically maintains.

The AAS has nothing against a brotherly alliance of Serbs from Serbia with those from outside Serbia. "But such an alliance is only possible if Montenegrins govern in Montenegro, Herzegovinans in Herzegovina, and Serbs in Serbia," the chairman of the Association, which acts like a political organization, believes.

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According to data collected by the AAS, 7.15 million indigenous Serbs live in Serbia, 1.5 million of whom are armed. This is far more than the 4 percent of Serbian citizens who have taken hold of key levers of power in politics, the economy, and the army, notwithstanding the fact that they are not originally from Serbia.

Benefit to Enemies

This division into Serbs from Serbia and Serbs from outside Serbia is, according to academician Ljubomir Tadic, a major difficulty that can only benefit our enemies. "The problem arose because of the very difficult economic situation that Serbia happened to be in, as well as the very great influx of refugees. Yet what the AAS advocates is deplorable selfishness," Tadic says.

According to him, the demands for the so-called ethnic cleansing of Serbia from Serbs coming from elsewhere has no grounds whatsoever. "According to pre-war research, Serbs from Bosnia- Herzegovina settled all the way up to Radjevina. For that reason, stressing such divisions is extremely thoughtless and irresponsible," Professor Tadic warns.

According to some research, in the last century the Serbs from what was then Serbia (extending from Belgrade to Pirot and Vranje) were called Serbians. Author Jovan Skerlic wrote most extensively about Serbianity in Serbia. However, that was no indication of any kind of separatism fostered by him, but rather an attempt to designate the literature in Serbia by that term. The term "Serbian" that was used by Ante Starcevic [Croatian politician before World War II] was particularly exploited by the press of the Independent State of Croatia during World War II, the aim of which was to distinguish Serbs from Serbia from those outside it.

This scratching about for family origins has its paradoxes as well. Thus one Herzegovinan leader of a party advises: "Go to Sumadija, to Pomoravlje [in the Morava River basin]. Go for advice. To the very source. Go for water." [quotation as published]. Vojislav Kostunica, the only Serbian politician originally from Sumadija, stands for the supra-Serbian options. If we add to this that a Montenegrin [Radovan Karadzic] leads the Serbian Democratic Party of the Bosnian Serbs, one can rightly wonder whether these divisions make any sense.

Kosovo

Rugova Assesses Perry's Visit, Urges Protection

AU2207201494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Jul 94

[Text] At today's news conference, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, assessed the visit of U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry to Albania and several other countries of the region as a major event for peace and security in that part of Europe. At this news conference, too, President Rugova spoke about the latest events in Kosova. Let us follow a telephone report from our correspondent Leke Musolli in Prishtina:

[Musolli] At today's meeting with reporters, Dr. Ibrahim Rogova, president of the Republic of Kosova, condemned the escalation of Serb repression against the Albanians, particularly the latest case in Fushe Kosova, when a group of Serbs attacked Albanian youths while the Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK] was holding its assembly. Considering it a dangerous provocation, President Rugova warned the Serb inhabitants in Kosova not to launch into such adventures.

President Rugova condemned the trumped-up trials against the Albanians held last week and stated that they are organized with the intention of continuously increasing fear and repression in Kosova.

He then demanded the suspension of construction, which has already started, to build houses for Serbian refugees in Vushtrri and Zvecan and assessed this as a method of the Serbian regime to colonize Kosova.

President Rugova informed the reporters about the actualization of the Kosova issue in international institutions. On this occasion, he greeted the debate organized by the U.S. Initiative Institute in Washington, which warned of a potential danger in Kosova and demanded international protection for Kosova and modernization of the protectorate defined in the UN Charter.

Mr. Rugova assessed the visit of U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry in the East European countries and in Albania, underlining that this visit will be a contribution to preventing conflict in the whole region.

This time, too, President Rugova reiterated his demand for international protection and preventive steps for Kosova, which would lead toward a fair solution for the Kosova issue.

Asked to comment the negative answer of the Bosnian Serbs against the contact group's peace plan, President Rugova said that this was another maneuver by the Serbs to win time. He demanded from the international community to be stronger and more efficient in its actions.

President Rugova also greeted the visit by Mr. Douglas Hogg in Albania, with the hope that this visit will help in actualizing the question of Kosova.

Dr. Rugova informed reporters that the general council will convene next week to elect the LDK Presidency.

Paper: Sentences Given to Albanians 'Draconian'

AU2507060394 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Jul 94 p 6

[Agim Muhaxheri report: "Draconian Sentences Again"]

[Text] Prishtina District Court, which is controlled by the Serbian occupation regime, has announced sentences against 14 Albanians charged with having formed a

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Kosova defense ministry, staffs of military units, etc. The bench of three judges presided over by Dragoljub Zdravkovic declared all the defendants guilty of two criminal charges—"association for hostile activity," and "violation of territorial integrity" under Articles 136 and 116 of the Penal Law of self-styled Yuqoslavia—and sentenced them to a total of 68 years' imprisonment. These draconian sentences did not surprise the 14 defendants, nor the public present in the courtroom, because this trial was another in the series of political trials being held in all parts of the state of Kosova.

Verdicts Like Charges

The heaviest sentence of seven and one-half years was given to the first defendant Hajzer Hajzeraj, whom this court "promoted" to defense minister of the Republic of Kosova.

Haxhi Ferati, Zaim Berisha, and Ejup Dragaj received six and one-half years each. Adem Salihaj was sentenced to six years, and Agim Krasniqi, Ibush Kelmendi, Halit S. Rama, Sali Citaku, Sylejman Hasani, and Ismail Mmehmeti were each sentenced to five years. Xhelil M. Rama and Heset Sahiti were sentenced to two years, and Bilall Syla to one year. The three last defendants were released from detention on remand, and defended themselves "in freedom."

It took 20 minutes to announce the sentences. Presiding Judge Dragoljub Zdravkovic issued the verdict "in the name of the people."

He then explained separately the "incriminating activities" with which each defendant was charged.

Among other things, he said that the defendants had "formed the defense ministry" as well as a "general military staff with a total of 200 bands and 100 platoons" and "the army of the Republic of Kosova with a total of 40,000 men" (!).

He also mentioned that Heset Sahiti, after collecting data about the police and military repression against the Albanian populace in Kosova, had "counted the planes at Slatina Airport!"

According to Zdravkovic, the 14 defendants had violated the "territorial integrity" of self-styled Yugoslavia. The defendants' aim since 1991 had been "to form a separate state...."

Guilt—Without Legal Proof

Besides Xhelil Rama, Bilall Syla, and Heset Sahiti, who were described as "members of a criminal association," the four first accused were declared guilty of "founding a defense ministry." Agim Krasniqi, Ibush Kelmendi, and Halit S. Rama were "founders of a military staff in Prishtina." Adem Salihaj, a former political prisoner, chairman of the Kosova Democratic Alliance branch at Ferizaj [Urosevac], and deputy to the parliament of the Republic of Kosova; Sylejman Hasani; and Ismail Mehmeti were said to be "founders of a military staff at Ferizaj." Sali Citaku was accused of "founding a military staff at Podujeve." During the preparation for the main examination on 18 April and the 11 court sessions that led up to the summing-up on 11 July, it has been clear that we have been faced with a political trial without proofs or judicial facts.

The only silent "proofs" against the accused were the notes taken during the interrogation of the defendants by the state security inspectors, to whom, following an order from investigating judge Zvonimir Maksimovic, the investigations were entirely entrusted!

The file of this "criminal case" included many letters and notes, including the defendants' meditations on the current situation in Kosova, what they thought about Slobodan Milosevic, Milan Panic, etc., membership cards of the LDK, the Mother Teresa Charitable Association, the Independent Trade Unions of Kosova, etc., various books, a miniature cassette player, cassettes, a dog leash, three weapons taken during a search, etc.!

The defendants have announced that they will appeal against the verdict to the "higher level" of the Serbian Supreme Court as soon as they have received the verdicts in writing.

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